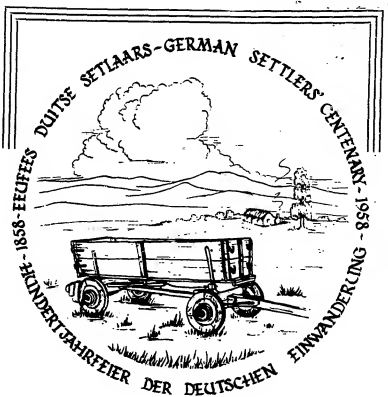

Deutsche in Kaffraria
Germans in Kaffraria
Duitsers in Kaffraria
1858 - 1958

GERMANS IN AFRICA

To South Africa

DEUTSCHE IN KAFFRARIA
GERMANS IN KAFFRARIA
DUITSERS IN KAFFRARIA
1858 — 1958

* Page 26-37
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Published by:

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and
B. E. PAPE

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VORWORT

Diese Seiten berichten eine schlichte, aber ergreifende Geschichte. Es ist die Geschichte von Männern und Frauen, die, getrieben von Wagemut oder von dem Verlangen, ihren Kindern ein besseres Los zu verschaffen als das eigene, sich entschlossen von der heimatlichen Scholle loszissen, in dem Vertrauen, dass das fremde Land unter dem Südlichen Kreuz ihnen Gelegenheit geben würde, ihre Hoffnungen zu verwirklichen. Es ist die Geschichte von Ernüchterung und Enttäuschung und manchmal auch Verzweiflung, öfter aber von Beharrlichkeit unter harten Bedingungen und von der Entschlossenheit, die Lebensumstände zu meistern und voranzukommen.

Es ist die Geschichte von Männern, die hin und her getrieben, den Glauben an sich selbst verloren hatten und nur von einem Tag zum andern lebten — ein flüchtiger Schatten, der durch das Gebiet zwischen Schwarz und Weiss dahinzog. Es ist die Geschichte ihrer ehemaligen Kameraden, die aber nicht in Verzagtheit den Kopf sinken liessen, sondern die Widerwärtigkeiten überwanden und sich den Weg auf die Höhe erkämpften.

Es ist die Geschichte von Männern, die, getrieben von reinsten Motiven, bereit waren, Bequemlichkeit, Gemeinschaft mit Volksgenossen und materiellen Gewinn im Dienste ihres Herrn und ihrer Mitmenschen zu opfern und die in solcher vollkommenen Hingabe durch geistliche Güter entschädigt wurden und Namen hinterliessen, die für immer in Ehren bleiben werden.

Es ist die Geschichte von niedrigen Leuten, die gekommen waren, um dem ungepflügten Lande, das sie ihr eigen nennen durften den Lebensunterhalt abzugewinnen, von Frauen und Kindern, die von früh bis spät sich auf dem Lande plagten, zum Teil gemeinsam mit den Gatten und Vätern, zum Teil allein., wenn die Männer weit weg gewandert waren, um irgendwelche Beschäftigung zu finden, bis ihre Landstücke für sie und die ihrigen Lebensunterhalt gewährten. Es ist die Geschichte von frommen Familien, die nach der Last der Arbeitswoche sich in verschiedenen Gotteshäusern versammelten, wo gläubige Männer den Gottesdienst hielten. um hernach die Teilnehmer zu entlassen, geistlich gestärkt und gerüstet, im Vertrauen auf Gott den Kampf fortzusetzen, bis ihre Mühe Frucht bringen würde.

Es ist die Geschichte, die mit Jan van Riebeeck beginnt und sich bis in die heutige Generation fortsetzt und die erkennen lässt, dass durch die ganze Geschichte von Südafrika ein beständiger Zustrom von Deutschen stattgefunden hat, die sich früher oder später mit den anderen Volksgruppen verschmolzen haben, die sie hier vorfanden. Holländer, Deutsche und Franzosen, Engländer und dann wieder Deutsche haben alle susammen das Volk herangebildet, das sich heute mit Stolz Südafrikaner nennt.

Es ist die Geschichte unserer Vorväter, und bei dieser Hundertjahrfeier wollen wir ihrer in würdiger Weise gedenken und sie ehren. Unschwer können wir in der Vergangenheit vieles finden, was gut und geeignet ist. als Fundament für die Zukunft zu dienen. Daraus können wir stolz sein.

Im Namen aller derer, die es angeht, möchte ich den Verfassern der verschiedenen Artikel dieses Büchleins danken, besonders Pastor Dr. J. F. Schwär und Prediger B. E. Pape, die auch die Mühe auf sich genommen haben, es herauszugeben. Ich möchte auch allen denen danken, die auf die eine oder andere Weise die Veröffentlichung ermöglicht haben.

E. L. G. SCHNELL.

FOREWORD

These pages tell a simple but stirring story. It is the story of men and women who, impelled by an adventurous spirit or anxious to give their children an easier lot than theirs, courageously uprooted themselves from their native soil, trusting that the strange land beneath the Southern Cross would give them the opportunity to realize their hopes. It is the story of disillusionment and disappointment and sometimes despair, but more often of perseverance amid hardship and of determination to master circumstances and prosper.

It is the story of men who drifting hither and thither had lost faith in themselves and lived but for the day—a fleeting shadow which passed over the landscape of the bordc - between Black and White. It is the story of their erstwhile companions who. refusing to bow their heads in despondency, overcame adversity and struggled on to rise to eminence.

It is the story of men who, inspired by the noblest motives, were ready to sacrifice comfort, companionship and material gain in the service of their Lord and their fellow men and who, in giving all, gained rich spiritual rewards and left names which will always be honoured.

It is the story of humble men who came to wrest a living from a piece of virgin soil which they could call their own, of women and children, who early and late toiled on the land, sometimes together with husbands and fathers, sometimes alone, while the men were far afield taking whatsoever employment was offered, until their farms could yield sustenance for them and theirs. It is the story of God-fearing families, who after the week's toil, congregated at their unpretentious places of worship where devout men led them in worship and sent them to their homes, spiritually strengthened and, trusting in divine guidance, ready to continue struggling until their labour should bear fruit.

It is the story which begins with Jan van Riebeeck and continues to our day and generation and reveals that throughout the history of South Africa there has been a continuous influx of Germans, who sooner or later have coalesced with the other groups they found here. Dutch, German and French, British and then German again together formed the people who proudly call themselves South Africans.

It is the story of our forebears, and in this centenary year let us, in a worthy manner, remember and honour them. For us it is easy to find in the past much that is good as a foundation for the future. Of this we can be proud.

On behalf of all concerned I wish to thank the writers of the various articles in this booklet, especially Rev. Dr. J. F. Schwä and Rev. B. E. Pape, who also undertook the onerous responsibility of editing. I also wish to thank all those who in some way or other have made possible this publication.

E. L. G. SCHNELL.

VOORWOORD

Hierdie boekie vertel 'n eenvoudige maar hoeiende verhaal. Dit is die verhaal van manne en vroue wat, aangespoor deur die drang na awontuur of deur die begeerte om vir hulle kinders 'n makliker bestaan te bekom, hulle uit hulle geboortegrond ontwortel het in die vertroue dat die onbekende land onder die Suiderkruis hulle die geleentheid sou aanbied om hulle verwagtinge te bewerkstellig. Dit is die verhaal van ontnugtering en teleurstelling, en partykeer van radeloosheid, maar meer dikwels van volharding deur swaarkry, en van vasberadenheid om teen die berghange uit te worstel tot uiteindelike sukses.

Dit is die verhaal van manne wat, heen en weer geslinger, vertroue in hulleself verloor het en wat van dag tot dag gelewe het—'n verbysgaande skaduwee oor die grensgehied tussen Swart en Wit. Dit is die verhaal van hulle voormalige kamerade wat geweler het om hulle koppe in wanhoop te laat sak en wat teëspoed die hoof gebied het tot dit langsamerhand in voorspoed verander het.

Dit is die verhaal van manne wat, aangespoor deur die edelste beweegredes, bereid was om gerief, saamsyn met volksgenote en stoflike welvaart, in die diens van hulle Here en hulle medemens, op te offer—en wat, deur alles prys te gee, geestelik ryk beloon is en name nagelaat het wat altoos in ere gehou sal word.

Dit is die verhaal van nederige mense wat gekom het om 'n lewensbestaan op 'n ele stukkie grond te maak, die verhaal van vroue en kinders, wat vroeg en laat op die lande geswoeg het, soms saam met manne en vaders, dikwels alleen terwyl die mans, ver van huis en haard af die karige inkomste gaan aanvul het tot hulle plase 'n heenkome vir hulle en hulle dierbares kon word. Dit is die verhaal van Godvresende gesinne wat na die week se moeisame arbeid in hulle heskeie kerkies hymekaar gekom het, waar getroue herders hulle in die erediense gelei het en hulle na hulle huisies teruggestuur het, geestelik verkwik en vol vertroue op God hereid om aan te hou tot hulle moeite beloon is.

Dit is 'n verhaal wat met Jan van Riebeeck begin het en tot ons dag en geslag aanhou. Dwarsdeur die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika vanaf daardie dae was daar 'n klein maar aanhoudende stroom van Duitsers wat mettertyd deel geword het van die ander taalgroepe wat hulle hier gevind het. Nederlanders, Duitsers en Franse, Britte en dan weer Duitsers het tesame die volk gevorm wat hulle vandag met trots Suid-Afrikaners noem. Dit is die verhaal van ons voorouers. Laat ons hulle in hierdie eeufeesjaar op 'n waardige wyse onthou en vereer. Vir ons is dit maklik om in die verlede veel te vind wat goed is en wat kan dien as 'n fondament vir die toekoms. Hierop is ons trots.

Namens almal betrokke wil ek graag die skrywers van die verskeie artikels in hierdie boekie bedank, veral eerwaarde Dr. J. F. Schwär en eerwaarde B. E. Pape, wat ook die verantwoordelikheid vir die 'redigeer daarvan aanvaar het. Ek wil ook almal bedank wat op een of ander wyse die uitgee hiervan moontlik gemaak het.

E. L. G. SCHNELL.

In connection with the Centenary of the coming of the German settlers in 1857 and 1858, I send greetings to all their descendants and to all other South Africans of German descent.

It is fitting that centenary celebrations should take place at East London and King William's Town where these settlers were first located and I wish the organisers every success.

In 1857 the German legionaries who had fought in the Crimean War in the service of Britain, landed at East London and were settled on the land. Not many remained to Settlers and large numbers volunteered for service in India during the Indian Mutiny. Many others entered other walks of life and contributed to the development of South Africa in other ways. But in 1858 came the men who really made their home on the land and they not only were invaluable in the defence of the Cape Colony against attacks from the warlike Native tribes, but they and their descendants with so many other South Africans of German descent became good South Africans Citizens and have contributed largely to the welfare and development of the country.

South Africa owes a great deal to the German element in the composition of our Nation. It is true that people of Dutch and English descent make up the greater part of our white population, but we must never forget the contribution of Germany and France. Many of our leading Citizens in the past have borne German names indicating whence they have sprung. That is the case even to-day and no doubt South Africans of German descent will in future also play an important role in the formation and growth of our Nation.

South Africans should therefore welcome this opportunity of paying tribute to the early pioneers of German descent who were such a great acquisition for South Africa. Their descendants will join these of Dutch and English descent and of other European descent in welding together the South African Nation which we all so much desire and which will be rooted in this our common Fatherland.

Governor-General.
Cape Town, 1956.

Klosterhaus, Lippoldsberg, Weser
4. Juni 1958

Hoffen möchte ich, dass mein Gruss für die Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der deutschen Einwanderung Sie nicht zu spät erreicht. Ich habe, wie Sie wissen, von 1902, als der sogenannte Burenkrieg noch nicht beendet war, bis 1911 in East London gelebt auf einer Farm am Nahoon, die mir der alte Herr Weir aus King William's Town zur Verfügung stellte. Ich war Teilhaber der Firma Martienssen, Grimm und Fraser in East London, den damaligen Agenten der Deutschen Ost-Afrika-Linie. Ich ritt oder fuhr jeden Morgen in die Stadt und kam dann abends zurück auf meine sehr geliebte Farm, die durch mich ein richtiges kleines Naturschutzgebiet war für Kleinwild und Getier, von den scheuen zierlichen Blauböcken angefangen. Sonntag oder schon Samstagnachmittag kamen die Freunde, Deutsche und Engländer, besonders H. C. Humphrey, der später als Führer der Border Light Horse in Deutsch-Ost-Afrika fiel und mit zwei deutschen Offizieren dort in einem Grabe liegt.

Ich blieb nicht Kaufmann, sondern folgte meinen Jugendwunsch und wurde Schriftsteller. Was ich dann schrieb von den Südafrikanischen Novellen an bis zu meinem grössten Buch "Volk ohne Raum", es errichte inzwischen die Auflage von 760,000. und bis zum "Richter in der Karu" und der "Olewagen Saga" hatte mit Afrika zu tun, und was ich zu diesen Büchern brauchte, hatte ich in den Jahren auf der Farm am Nahoon gelernt und unter Freunden aus East London.

Ein Buch, das "Kaffernland" heissen sollte, schrieb ich nach meiner Heimkehr, es wurde nicht fertig, der 1914 beginnende Krieg verhinderte die Beendigung der Arbeit. Die "Deutsche Rundschau" druckte die unfertige Arbeit später ab. Ich lasse Ihnen ein Kapitel daraus zugehen zum beliebigen Nachdruck. Im Buch "Volk ohne Raum" ist auch die Rede von meiner Zeit in East London.

So lange ich lebe, werde ich dankbaar bleiben für die Jahre, die ich als Deutscher in Kaffraria verbrachte und für alles, was ich von den so verschiedenen Menschen und der Natur dort lernen durfte. Ich denke wohl an jedem Tag dorthin mit ernster Zuneigung.

HANS GRIMM.

DUITSE IMMIGRASIE NA DIE KAAP VOOR 1857

Dit word algemeen aanvaar dat die Afrikaners van vandag afstammelinge van die Nederlanders en die Franse Hugenote is. maar dit word nie ook duidelik genoeg besef dat 'n groot gedeelte van Afrikanerbloed van Duitse herkoms is nie.

Om die waarheid hiervan ten volle te besef, moet ons teruggaan na die begin van ons geskiedenis. Toe Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 hier aan wal gestap het, was daar, streng gesproke, nog nie 'n Duitsland nie—daar was slegs Duitse state; nog minder was daar Duitse kolonies waar avontuursoekende Duitsers bulle kon vestig. Hulle moes dus elders 'n veld vir hulle drang na avontuur en hulle ondernemingsgees soek. Baie van hulle het na die Amerikaanse state verhuis en sodoende vir die Verenigde State van hulle mees vooraanstaande seuns gegee. Andere het weer na die naburige Holland gegaan om daarvandaan, meestal in die diens van die Verenigde Oos-Indiese Kompanie, na die Kaap te vertrek. 'n Klompie het later na hulle vaderland teruggekeer, 'n hele aantal het na ander besittings van die Kompanie vertrek, maar 'n aansienlike getal het hulle hier metterwoon gevestig en dus stamvaders van die latere Afrikanervolk geword.

Of enige Duitsers saam met Jan van Riebeeck geland het, is van min belang, alhoewel ons reeds in 1652 al die name van drie Duitsers kry—Michael Cleave van Stralsund, Paulus Pekwaw van Danzig en Wilhelm Müller van Frankfurt. Van groter belang is dat daar Duitsers onder die allereerste Vryburgers was, die werklike volksplanters van die Kaap—Heinrich Elberts van Osnabrück en Jacob Cloeten van Keule. Van daardie vroeë tydperk af was daar 'n gedurige stroom, klein maar betekenisvol, van Duitsers wat gewoonlik as soldate en amptenare na die Kaap gekom het en hulle hier gevestig het. Sommige het in Kaapstad gebly, andere het hulle heil in die binneland gesoek, maar almal het Afrikaners geword. Dikwels dui die name Duitse afkoms al te duidelik aan—Hertzog, Strauss, Liebenberg, Kruger, Badenhorst. Ander minder kenbaar is dietemin Duits, bv. Lourens, Botha, Conradie. Baie name is by plaaslike gebruike aangepas—so het Schmidt meestal Smit geword en Fischer Visser. Binne 'n geslag of drie was daar min van die Kaapse Vryburgers wat nie in 'n mindere of meerdere mate Duitse bloed in hulle are gehad het nie.

Heelwat navorsing is op hierdie terrein van die Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis gedoen, waarvan die belangrikste die werk van De Villiers (Geslacht-Register der Oude Kaapsche Familien), Colenbrander (De Afkoms der Boeren), Schmidt-(Personalia of the Germans at the Cape), die belangrikste is. Goed bekend is die berekening van Colenbrander wat. met die syfers tot sy beskikking, vasgestel het met 529 Nederlanders en 86 Franse; maar teenoor die 841 Duitse stamvaders wat daar slegs 98 Duitse stammoeders.

Deur sorgvuldige berekening het hy tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat daar in 1807 sowat 54 persent van die ‚bloed' van die Afrikaners van Nederlandse oorsprong was 28 persent Duits en 10 persent Frans. Latere berekeninge het hierdie syfers effens gewysig maar hulle dui tog almal aan dat 'n aansienlike gedeelte van Afrikanerbloed van Duitse herkoms is.

In die halfeeu 1807-1857, was daar 'n verdere toevloei van Duitsers. Van die grootste belang vir Suid-Afrika is egter die koms van die Duitse sendelinge gedurende hierdie tydperk en daarna—wat self baie bygedra het tot die ontdekking en opening van die binneland en die verryking van Suid-Afrikaanse kultuurlewe.

Hulle nakomelinge word ook gevind onder Suid-Afrika se eerbaarste seuns. Onder hulle vind ons name soos Kayser, Schreiner, Leipoldt, Lückhoff, Alheit, Kleinschmidt, Kreft, Gregorowski, Radloff, Döhne en Kropf—om maar net 'n paar van die vroegstes te noem.

Soos almal weet, het die Duitsers van die tydperk van Van Riebeeck af nie hulle identiteit as Duitsers behou nie; die meeste het mettertyd deel geword van die Afrikanervolk; sommige egter is in die Engelssprekende volksdeel geabsorbeer. Vir hierdie verdwyning van Duitse identiteit is daar verskeie redes, waarvan die vernaamste alreeds genoem is, naamlik die geringe aantal Duitse vrouens. Dit het meegebring dat die meeste Duitse mans met Afrikaner-meisies getrou het. Die vrou kon selde haar man se taal praat; hy was gewoonlik haar taal—die landstaal—magtig, met die gevolg dat die buitstaat byna deurgaans Nederlands geword het en die sosiale milieu van die gesin Nederlands-Afrikaans.

'n Ander faktor wat bygedra het tot die samesmelting van Duitsers en Nederlanders, was die *feit dat* sommige van die Duitsers van die Duitse grensgebiede gekom het; vir hulle was Holland moontlik geen vreemde land nie en Nederlands miskien geen vreemde taal nie.

Dan ook was daar voor 1780 geen Lutherse kerk aan die Kaap, wat kon help om die Duitsers bymekaar te hou en hulle Duitsheid te bewaar nie. Die afwesigheid van enige kontak met Duitsland het ook bygedra tot die verbreking van die skakels; daar was feitlik geen handel met Duitsland nie, geen Duitse skepe nie, niks inderdaad om die Duitsers hier aan hulle vaderland te herinner en te bind nie. Hulle is in die Kaap ingeburger, hulle toekoms en geluk het hier gelê en hoe swakker die bande met hulle gewese vaderland geword het, hoe sterker het die plaaslike bande gegroei.

Individuele Duitsers het sonder twyfel 'n vername rol in ons geskiedenis gespeel. Van groter belang egter is die betekenis van die Duitse stamvaders as 'n geheel, veral in die ontstaan en wording van 'n volk wat kenmerkend Afrikaans in teenstelling met Nederlands is. As ons vandag terugkyk, weet ons dat die Afrikanervolk alreeds in die dae van die Verenigde Oos-Indiese Kompanie „im werden" was. Die afgesonderdheid van die Suid-Afrikaanse boere en lewenswyse wat wyd van hulle oorsese stamlande verskil het, was sonder twyfel van die grootste belang in hierdie proses; maar dit is ook geen twyfel dat die samesmelting van mense van verskeie lande 'n sterk rol gespeel het. Voor die middel van die 18de eeu was hulle al bewus dat hulle „anders" was, en hierdie besef het stadigaan gegroei totdat die inwoners van Suid-Afrika geen twyfel oor hulle eie volksbestaan gebad het nie. Dit is vanselfsprekend onmoontlik om vas te stel wat die Duitsers hiertoe bygedra het, maar heelmoontlik is hulle aandeel groter as wat tot nou toe besef is: hulle was glad nie aan Holland verbonde nie. Hulle het al te duidelik besef dat daar nie die geringste moontlikheid was van enige politieke band met Duitsland (of enige Duitse state) nie; hulle bande met Duitsland is gebreek, en dus was hulle oë nie op enige „vaderland" vir hulle toekoms of welsyn gerig nie. Alreeds deur bloed aan vroeër geslagte van „Afrikaners" verbonde, was *dit* vir hulle *natuurlik*, indien nie onvermydelik, dat hulle hulle heil hier in Suid- Afrika sou soek en dat die aard van hulle hele denke en wese in die rigting van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse tuiste sou gerig word. Niks het ooit enige getrouheid aan Holland van hulle geverg nie, hulle getrouheid aan hulle Duitse vaderland het verswak en verdwyn; in die plek daarvan het daar 'n nuwe getrouheid aan hulle nuwe vaderland gekom wat 'n sterk bydrae gelewer het tot die ontstaan van 'n nuwe Suid-Afrikaanse volk.

E. L. G. S.

Sir George Grey, G.C.B.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BRITISH KAFFRARIA

THE BIRTH OF THE PROVINCE

The former British Kaffraria embraced the beautiful country lying between the Western bank of the Keiskama River and the Kei River in the East and between the Indian Ocean and the Amatola Mountains and beyond them until near Cathcart. It is an attractive country with rolling hills, wooded slopes, numerous streams, and is wealthy in flora and fauna. In its short history it has seen several political changes. At the end of the Sixth Kaffir War, 1834-1835, it was proclaimed on the 10th May, 1835 as the Province of Queen Adelaide. King William's Town was the capital. The authorities in England frowned upon the proclamation and as a result the Province was abandoned in December of the following year. The Seventh Kaffir War, or the War of the Axe, followed in 1846-1847. The Xhosas were defeated and the country between the Keiskama and the Kei was established as the Province of British Kaffraria by Sir Harry Smith on the 23rd day of December, 1847, with King William's Town again as the capital. Col. McKinnon was appointed Commandant and Chief Commissioner. During the war troops and stores were landed at the mouth of the Buffalo River. This led to the establishment of the port and town of East London (West Bank) in 1848. Fort Glamorgan was also built and Fort Murray moved from near Mount Coke to its present site. The Native tribes were now forced to live under British rule. They, however, were not satisfied and the Eighth Kaffir War or the War of Mlanjeni followed in 1850-1853. The war was long and costly and ended once more in the defeat of the Natives. The Tembus were removed from between the Amatolas and the Stormberg Mountains to the Glen Grey district. Their land was given to European farmers on the Grantee (Quit Rent) or Cathcart System. The Xhosas were driven out of their fastnesses and moved across the Kei River. The Fingoes, who had remained loyal, were settled along the bases of the Amatolas. Thousands of acres of British Kaffraria became vacant land. In 1852 Col. John Maclean, C.B., was appointed Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria.

THE CAPE COLONIAL FRONTIER POLICY

When Sir George Grey was appointed Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner of British Kaffraria, he visited the latter and described it in glowing terms. The Province was then occupied by about 90,000 Natives. Order was maintained by a body of 2,804 officers and men of British regiments stationed at King William's Town, Keiskama Hoek, and several small centres, including Fort Murray. The White civilian population amounted to over a thousand people, a few being missionaries and officials and the others traders. The numerous Kaffir wars had forced successive governors of the Cape Colony to consider how peace could be maintained along the Colony's Eastern frontier. Thought was given to the establishment of closer settlements of Europeans. Under Sir Harry Smith the Natives were placed in locations with open spaces in between. He also originated the idea of placing soldier pensioners upon small holdings in villages, where they would be under a superintendent and be subject to being called up for military parades or even military service. Such villages were actually established in the Colony, but few ex-soldiers came forward as settlers, and the scheme was a failure. It was, however, the pattern for the settlement of the British German Legion in villages

Col. John Maclean, C.B.

in British Kaffraria and the Peddie district of the Colony. The next Governor, Sir George Cathcart, not only initiated the Grantee System in the Colony, but also thought of placing poor industrious people in village settlements in British Kaffraria. It was left to Sir George Grey to put both ideas into practice, firstly by accepting the British German Legion as military settlers, and then secondly the German Immigrants of 1858 as an industrious village population. In making his attempt, he had a double purpose in mind. He believed that Europeans and Xhosas could live side by side in the same country in a peaceful co-existence. He also held that the military settlers would so impress the greatness of the military strength of the Colony upon the minds of the Natives, that they would give up all ideas of fighting the White man. The costly Kaffir wars would thus come to an end. In a large measure the military settlers would take the place of the regular garrisons, which could then be greatly reduced. A notice dated 1858 mentions that hy interspersing Whites amongst Blacks the one need not he a dread to the other.

B. E. PAPE.

THE BRITISH GERMAN LEGION OR THE GERMAN MILITARY SETTLERS

THE FORMATION OF THE LEGION

During the Crimean War, when England and France were allies in fighting Russia, the fortress of Sebastopol withstood all attacks for a long time. The war dragged on, and the severe weather and disease caused the Allies much suffering and many losses in men. Reinforcements were badly needed. Lord Panmure as Secretary for War obtained the permission of Parliament to recruit foreign volunteers for the war in the Crimea. They were to form the British Foreign Legion. This recruiting could he done hecause most of the states on the Continent were neutral during the war. The effort was very successful and it was possible to organize separate German, Italian and Swiss Legions. At first the German contingent was known as the British Foreign Legion, but the name was changed later to British German Legion. Suitable officers from the neutral German states came forward sparingly. Finally Major-General Baron Richard von Stutterheim accepted the post of commander of the Legion. The number of German officers was augmented by British officers. Recruiting took place in Germany via Heiligoland, which was then a British possession. The men gathered at Shorncliffe. Before the Legion sailed for South Africa the men were stationed at Brownclown, Aldershot and Colchester.

The uniform of the infantrymen consisted of a dark green tunic with a light green collar, dark trousers and a black cap with a blue tassel. The cavalry wore a black tunic. Major D.B. Hook in his book "With Sword and Statute" states that on a visit to Stutterheim he found some Legionaries in red uniforms, others in blue or green ones.

Only a part of the British German Legion had reached the Bosphorus in Turkey,

when the Crimean War came to an end. England was now faced with the problem of what to do with the men. They had joined for the duration of the war and for one year thereafter. They were all young men, because they had to be under 25 years of age and not less than 5 feet 2 inches in height. Again it was Lord Panmure, who suggested that they might go to South Africa as military settlers. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Henry Labouchere took up the question with Sir George Grey. Major J. Grant was sent to interview him at Cape Town. Captain E. Hoffmann, an engineer officer of the Legion, was sent along with Grant. It was Hoffmann who described British Kaffraria as a land of gently rolling hills, numerous rivers full of fishes, Grey agreed to take the men as military settlers, but distinctly on the condition that they were to come as married men accompanied by their wives and children. He was promised 8,000 men. In the end not even the rosy picture of conditions there which Captain Hoffmann had painted, induced more than 2,362 officers and men to enlist for South Africa. They were accompanied by only 361 wives and 195 children. noble forests, several harvests a year, and cheap liquor in abundance. Governor

THE SETTLEMENT CONDITIONS

The conditions under which the British German Legion was brought to South Africa can be stated briefly. The officers, men, their wives and children and any wives or brides, who wished to come later, were to receive free passages and rations on the journey. The rations were to continue from the day of landing and for one year after reaching their locations for the men. The women and children were to have rations for the year or only a part thereof as the Governor might deem fit. The men were to serve as military settlers from the date of their landing in South Africa and for seven years after reaching their locations. The duties were to be not more than 30 days training each year for the first three years and not more than 12 days training per year for the following four years. During the seven years they could be called out in defence of the Colony and placed on full pay. Thereafter they were expected to share in the defence of the country on the same terms as the other Colonists did. Arms, ammunition and uniforms were supplied before leaving England. For three years they were to be on half-pay. The details are as follows; General von Stutterheim 37/11½ a day plus the usual local and other allowances made to a major-general; Col. J. W. Woolridge 31/3 a day; Major G. Fellenius 25/6 a day; Captain Charles Mills 13/3½ a day, Captain E. Hoffmann 11/7 a day, Major Grant as temporary military secretary to Governor Grey 19/- a day; a field officer if a lieutenant-colonel 8/6 a day; if a major 8/- a day; a captain of infantry 5/9½ a day; a captain of cavalry 7/3½ a day; infantry lieutenant 3/3 a day; cavalry lieutenant 4/6 a day; ensigns 2/7½ a day, cornets 4/- a day; surgeons with rank of captain 13/- a day; assistant surgeons with rank of lieutenant 7/6 a day; paymaster or quartermaster with rank of captain 12/6 a day; chaplains with rank of major £100 a year or 5/5½ a day; gentleman cadets 1/2 a day (on voyage 2/4); colour sergeant 1/2 a day, sergeant 11d. a day; corporal 8d. a day; and privates 8d. a day.

The non-commissioned officers got £20 and the privates £18 as a building allowance. This was really the demobilisation money, which they would have received in cash had they taken their discharge in Europe. In lieu of barracks or house-rent the officers received a building-allowance on the following scale: field officers £200, captains £150 and subalterns £100. The building money was paid out in instalments regulated by the progress of the building. The non-commissioned

The Arrival of the British German Legion 1857
(Original Painting by C. C. Henkel in the East London Museum)

officers and men all got a building lot in a town or village. Those in the villages received an acre lot in addition. After it had been pointed out to Governor Grey that it was impossible to make a living on such small boldings, he agreed to each man receiving a four-acre lot in addition to his one acre lot. The officers got a large garden plot, but had to purchase their farms at prices varying from 17/6 an acre at Keiskama Hoek and Braunschweig, 16/- in Stutterheim, 15/- in Frankfort and Breidbach, 12/6 in Wiesbaden, Marienthal and Hannover, 7/- in Cambridge and Potsdam, to 5/- in Berlin. They were allowed a remission of the purchase money on the following scale: field officers £300, captains £200 and subalterns £150. Those officers and men who fulfilled all the conditions of their service became full owners of their lands. The wives and children of officers and men who had died, were according to the Colonial law of inheritance given possession of their lands, buildings and improvements even although the deceased had not fulfilled the full period of their military service. There was a considerable delay in completing the surveys of the settlements. A report issued by the Deputy Surveyor-Generzl at the end of 1857 states that one acre lots had been surveyed in nine of the settlements, one and four acre lots in two settlements, and five acre lots at Ohlsen. All this explains why there is such a mixture of building lots and one and four acre lots and small farms within all the German Settlements.

It must be emphasized that the sites of the settlements were not chosen because they offered good agricultural soil and plenty of water and wood, but because they were of strategic importance to the military authorities.

THE DEPARTURE FROM EUROPE

When that portion of the British German Legion which had been to Turkey, had returned to England, the men were inspected by Queen Victoria. Prince Albert, the Prince Consort, showed a keen interest in them and desired that many Legionaries should settle in South Africa. The different regiments were regularly drilled and their marked efficiency was much admired in England. Lieut-Col. von Hake of the 2nd Regiment did his share of the work and earned for himself the nickname of "der alte Dauerlauf" (Old forced March). The regiments were gathered for the last time and Maj.-Gen. von Stutterheim took his leave of them. He expressed the hope that many of the officers and men would accompany him to the Cape. It was a moving scene. The men were now subjected to a keen campaign of propaganda for and against settling in South Africa. At last those who had decided in favour of going to South Africa, sailed for that country in November, 1856 and arrived at the Buffalo River in January and February, 1857. They travelled in the sailing vessels Sultana, Culloden, Abyssinian, Covenantor, Stamboul and Mersey, whilst Maj.-Gen. von Stutterheim and his staff travelled on H.M.S. Vulcan.

THE ARRIVAL AND SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

As the Legionaries landed from the various ships on the West Bank at East London, they were marched to Fort Murray, where they lived in tents and awaited the arrival of Maj.-Gen. von Stutterheim. During the time of waiting and also during the early days of their settlements, there were many deaths from dysentery. Within a few weeks King William's Town alone had 33 deaths. The officers of the Legion and their wives fared better because available houses in Pensioners' Village in King William's Town were placed at their disposal.

After all the details of the distribution had been worked out, it was decided that the 1st Regiment under Col. J. W. Woolbridge was to have its headquarters

Sir George Grey visits the British German Legion
(Original painting by C. C. Henkel in the Kaffrarian Museum)

at Wooldridge. This new settlement in the Peddie district was named in honour of the commanding officer. Detachments of the regiment were placed at Wooldridge, formerly Pato's Kraal, Bodiam, formerly Mandy's Farm, Hamburg, Bell, formerly Tovi, Fort Peddie, East London, Cambridge and Panmure. This regiment was thus placed partly in the Colony and partly in British Kaffraria. At the end of May, 1858, the regiment had 29 officers, 12 gentleman cadets, 68 non-commissioned officers and 696 men. There were also 133 women and 72 children. The 2nd Regiment under Lieut-Col. Adolph von Hake had its headquarters at Berlin. Detachments were placed at Berlin, Potsdam, Hannover, Marienthal, Wiesbaden, Breidbach and King William's Town. Charlottenburg was looked upon as being part of Berlin. The regiment in May, 1858 had 17 officers, 7 gentleman cadets, 68 non-commissioned officers and 344 men. There were 75 women and 41 children. The 3rd Regiment under the command of Lieut-Col. Edward Kent Murray, had its headquarters at Stutterheim. Detachments were placed at Greytown, Stutterheim, Kaiskama Hoek, Braunschweig, Kolding and Frankfort. Kolding was soon abandoned in favour of Ohlsen. The First Squadron of Cavalry went to Greytown and the Second Squadron to Stutterheim. There were according to the May, 1858, report 22 officers, 9 gentleman cadets, 83 non-commissioned officers and 663 men in the 3rd Regiment. They were accompanied by 114 wives and 64 children.

★ THE NAMES OF THE SETTLEMENTS

It was left to the officers of the Legion to name the new settlements of which they took charge. Invariably they named them after the places of their birth or other places with which they had been closely associated in Germany.

EARLY ENTHUSIASM

As soon as the men had received their building lots and the officers their garden plots, all enthusiastically started to settle down. The first task was to build their houses. To Lieut.-Col. von Hake falls the honour of building the first officer's house. He laid the foundation-stone of this house with great ceremony on the 18th of April, 1857. He not only built a solid stone house, which is still standing, but through this act he formally founded the village of Berlin. Maj-Gen. von Stutterheim followed with his house. It is said to have been a mansion in the German style complete with turrets. It was destroyed by a very strong blast of wind and nothing has remained of it. The houses of other officers were built in the various centres, some of stone and others of sods. The non-commissioned officers and men erected less pretentious homes. Most of them had sod walls and thatched roofs. These were known as interim houses and were to serve as outhouses later on. Of Berlin it was reported that buildings were put up varying from "the round Kaffir hut to Irish hovels built of sods, and others neither Irish nor Kaffir." More substantial buildings with iron roofs appeared at Berlin and the other centres at an early date.

The early enthusiasm found its expression in many ways. The Rev. Mr. Lange, who was a German, but served as an Anglican priest, obtained seeds and cuttings of trees and shrubs from Grahamstown for the Legionaries. Gardens were started. Potatoes and oats were grown. A nurseryman's business was opened at Berlin. Sawmills were started near the forests and brickfields in numerous places. Various men opened canteens in which groceries and liquor could be obtained. Meals were served in some of the canteens. Such canteens later developd into hotels. At Hannover an irrigation canal 5 miles long was built. It was 4 feet wide and 1½ feet deep. The men, who worked on it, got one shilling a day. They refused to work for threepence a

Maj. Gen. Baron Richard von Stutterheim

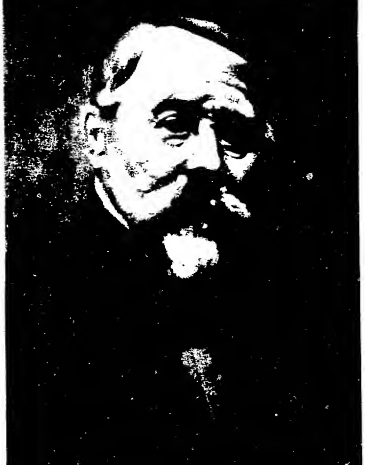
...small part of materials required. In Potsdam a bakery was opened which supplied ready German rolls. Soldiers planted vegetables and made silkworms. Captain von Linsingen had 400 cotton plants on his farm at Wiesbaden. A Farmers' Society was formed at Hannover. The Legionaires were fond of music and singing. They indulged in theatricals. Legionary Eisfe-Hunsermann started a German language newspaper called Germania on the 1st April, 1857. At first the paper was printed at the Mount Coke Mission Press. Later Mr. Hunsermann had his own printing press and he was also a bookseller. After a year a partly English language paper called Anglo-Germania appeared. Germania continued for more than a year and had 400 subscribers. Eisfe-Hunsermann then sold his printing press and goodwill to Mr John Dyson, who had business in Smith Street, King William's Town. A German Almanac was advertised for sale at this time. Both Germania and Anglo-Germania then ceased to exist. On the 1st of June, 1864, Sgt. Major George started a new paper called Deutscher Botschafter. When over a thousand Legionaries left for India, the paper was sold to some town in the United States publishers.

POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS

As a result of a complaint made by Baron von Stutterheim that it was difficult to communicate with the various settlements under his command, a weekly Kaffir post (by Native carrier) was started in April, 1857 between Greytown and King William's Town and East London and King William's Town. Soon this was changed. There was a Buffalo line from King William's Town to Fort Murray, East London, and Cambridge, a New Berlin line from King William's Town to Berlin and Potsdam; a service to Bailie's Grove and Kookana, Hoek and a Fort Hare Line. The Kaffir post was retained to Stutterheim. From the 1st of June, 1860, the Post Office had a service twice a week to Tamla Tea, Line Drift, Fort Peddie, Trumpeter's and Graham's-town; twice a week to Berlin, Fort Jackson, Cambridge, Panmure and East London; twice a week to Kookana, Hoek, Winterpoerg, Impandi, Tyefen and Queen's-town; twice a week to Fort White, Middlesmith, Fort Hare and Fort Beaufort; daily to Fort Murray, Sundays to Stutterheim, Frankfort, Wiesbaden and Ohlsen. The postal rates were officers' letters to Cape Town 4d., officers' letters to England 8d. letters to Germany could be franked to England only. Letters of non-commissioned officers and men cost 1d. The name and address of the sender and the regiment of the Legion to which he belonged had to be given, and then the officers commanding the various villages had to write their names in a corner of the envelope.

THE LEGION AND THE INDIAN MUTINY

Upon the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, Sir George Grey took immediate steps to render all the assistance he could. As many men of the Legion were eager to volunteer for service in India, Grey gave his consent. A total of 1,058 officers and men volunteered. Of these only 326 returned to South Africa. Again only 41 of these men returned to their former stations, the other 285 being discharged and allowed to scatter to other centres. The departure of so many men for India left a total of 839 basque variant. Many of these were occupied by the German Immigrants, who were arriving at this time. Thirteen houses were to be used for school purposes, hospitals, guard or orderly rooms, or as temporary quarters for chaplains. Three were accidentally destroyed by fire. Two were to be sold to various applicants and 41 were transferred to other Military Settlers.



Lieut.-Col. Adolf von Hake

MASS MARRIAGES

Sir George Grey having requested that the men of the Legion should come with their wives and children, there were mass marriages of the Legionaries in England upon the eve of their embarkation. Others were married as soon as the ships had put out to sea. The Rev. J. Oppermann claimed to have married between 60 and 70 couples in one day. The Rev. Otto Wilmans also married a large number of couples. There was some doubt as to whether the proper banns had always been joined together. One of the chaplains maintained that the men and their wives would sort themselves out on board ship. The marriages were entered into in good faith. Doubts were raised as to whether the Lutheran chapains had observed all the requirements of the English marriage laws. In order to do away with all uncertainty the Government was authorised to declare the marriages legal by proclamation. Some of the brides came from Germany. A large number were English girls, who were prepared to go to South Africa as the wives of Legionaries. When the Lady Kennaway arrived with the "load of Irish girls, only between 13 and 17 were married by Legionaries, the others being distributed in British Kaffraria with great care. Fifty of them were sent to Grahamstown.

THE LEGIONARIES AND THEIR RELIGION

A report signed by Major Folkenius on the 20.8.1857 states that in the 1st Regiment there were 422 Protestants, 285 Roman Catholics and 7 Jews; in the 2nd Regimen: there were 397 Protestants, 242 Roman Catholics and one Jew; in the 3rd Regiment there were 421 Protestants, 278 Roman Catholics and no Jews. Thus there were 1,230 Protestants, 805 Roman Catholics and 8 Jews in the Legion. To serve all these men scattered over 20 settlements there was a Protestant chaplain at Wooldridge, the Rev. J. Oppermann, and another Protestant chaplain, Rev. O Wilmans, at Berlin. Wilmans was soon dismissed and went away. At a later stage, largely because Sir George Grey was worried about the situation, the Rev. A. Kropf of the Berlin Mission Society's station at Bethel, acted as chapain for the 3rd Regiment. Adverse criticism of the religious attitude of the Legionaries was voiced by the Rev. Mr. Kropf, and also by Dr. Wangemann, who visited Bethel in 1867. It must be remembered though, that there were many Roman Catholics in the Legion at Stutterheim, many of whom were French, and these would naturally not have attended the Lutheran services. Attendance at church parades was compulsory during the intended 7 years of service. Such compulsory attendances are never popular. Dr. Kropf was a missionary and as such naturally took a sympathetic view of the needs of his Black flock. There was no sympathy lost between the Legionaries and the Xhosas, who resented the coming of the former into their territory. Major D. B. Hook, who was both a police officer and a magistrate, states, "The Legion being soldiers and the natives warriors, they glared at each other."

On the other hand there is positive evidence which comes from the ranks of the Legion itself. The complaint was made that although there were 12 doctors to look after their physical needs, they only had two young chaplains. No provision was made for the spiritual needs of the Roman Catholics. A chaplain got £100 a year over against the doctor's £250. Under the circumstances of the settlement, the visits of the chaplains were few and far between. Captain Wilhelm von Linsingen was a deeply religious man and conducted devotional services at Wiesbaden. Sgt.-Maj. C. George was a lay preacher in King William's Town. At a later stage he was appointed a catechist for the Germans by the Bishop of Grahamstown. The Rev. Mr. Lange and the Rev. Mr. Kitson, both of the Anglican Church, took a sympathetic

interest in the spiritual welfare of the German community. Baron de Pin was a supporter. Catechisms could be obtained through Mr. J. Hundertmark. The widow of an officer offered her house and garden to the Government to be used as a chapel and schoolroom for Germans. There were 500 children and no schoolmaster or church. The offer was refused. Whilst it can therefore be accepted that a part of the Legion was disinterested in religion, this position does not apply to all of them. Many had a deep interest. What stands out above all other factors is that the Government of the day made itself guilty of a shameful neglect of the religious interests of the Legion.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE SETTLEMENTS

Many men of the Legion saw in their conditions of service no hope for the future. This led to many desertions from the ranks. Death also reduced the strength of the Legion. Another great reduction in numbers was caused when so many men failed to return from India. Of the 386 officers and men who did return, no fewer than 343 were discharged and allowed to scatter over the Colony and other parts of South Africa. Even before this, members of the Legion were allowed to leave their villages in search of work. Others were recruited for the various police forces. King William's Town had a German Police force, which at one time had 21 non-commissioned officers and men. There were changes of ministers and changes of policy in England. The decision was reached that the settlements were a failure and that all expenditure from Imperial funds must stop. A gradual reduction in the remaining establishment of the German Military Settlers took place. By the 1st of July, 1860, the state of the corps was 1 field officer, 5 captains, 4 subalterns, 6 cadets, 2 paymasters, 1 adjutant, 1 surgeon, 1 assistant surgeon, 17 sergeants, 10 corporals, 3 buglers and 224 privates. In February, 1861, the then remaining Legionaries were paid off as on the 31st March, 1861. The Legion had come to an end. The last men to be paid off were at Breidbach, Berlin, Potsdam, Cambridge and Panmure. As the Immigrants received their agricultural allotments, they moved out of the Legionary houses they occupied. Most of the remaining Legionaries also abandoned their houses and left for other centres. The houses soon fell into ruins. Today only heaps of earth and stone show us where they once stood. A few of the houses erected by the officers are still standing.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH GERMAN LEGION TO SOUTH AFRICA

The question may be raised as to whether the expenditure of between £250,000 and £260,000 in settling the Legion in South Africa was justified by the results. An official report dated 1st July, 1860, states that 865 houses had been built and that 1,203 acres were under cultivation. This achievement seems small in comparison to what might have been accomplished. In all the Legion held 8,244 acres of land. The greater contribution the Military Settlers made to South Africa lay in the protection they gave to the country. Sir George Grey openly acknowledged this. They showed their loyalty to Queen Victoria by the manner in which they celebrated her birthday. After having fulfilled the necessary conditions 780 members of the Legion, eventually got titles to their land. The villages occupied by the German Military Settlers could defend themselves. Their presence partially curbed the warlike spirit of the Natives. During the Indian Mutiny the presence of the Legion in South Africa set free regular British troops for service in India. The country, being largely robbed of its military protection now depended very strongly upon that part of the Legion which had not gone to India. The Legionaries also directly

opened the way for the coming of the German Immigrants, who found shelter in their houses and enjoyed the protection they afforded.

The story of the British German Legion will not be complete if no mention is made of the services some of them rendered their new homeland. When placed upon a civil basis, the majority of them returned to their trade or profession, some took up farming, some entered business, some joined the police force and others became civil servants. Their behaviour was claimed to have been good. Baron de Pin became the father of forestry in South Africa. Caesar Henkel also took up forestry and painted the two pictures of the Legion now found in the East London Museum. Captain Theodor Bicker ended as Registrar of Deeds in Cape Town. Cornet J. C. Koopmans entered the postal service at Cape Town, married a De Wet, and left his name to posterity in the Koopmans-de Wet Museum. Captain Carl von Brandis became private secretary to President M. W. Pretorius in the Orange Free State. He then moved to the Transvaal and served as landdrost's clerk and finally as special landdrost of Johannesburg. Captain J. Schneider served as station master and Lieutenant A. Gropp as a postmaster. Col. F. Schermbrucker rendered a fine service in the Colonial Force, represented King William's Town in the Cape Parliament and for a time belonged to the cabinet as Commissioner of Public Works. In this position he did much for the Eastern Cape. Captain Wilhelm von Linsingen found employment as Inspector of Police at East London. In the War of 1877-1878 he distinguished himself, was promoted to commandant and made a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. During the Native Rebellion of 1881 he and his 16 year old son Ernst fell side by side in an episode which is reminiscent of, and fully equals, that in which Dirkie Uys and his father lost their lives.

WHY THE MILITARY SETTLEMENTS FAILED

The military settlements of the British German Legion were a repetition of what had already been tried before in the Colony and had failed. Major Compton, a son-in-law of Col. A. von Hake, who was then the senior officer of the Legion states that old residents of the Colony predicted the failure of the German Military Settlements even before the men arrived. The sites were chosen to suit military requirements and not because they offered good soil for cultivation. The surveys were made by young and inexperienced surveyors, who paid no regard to good land or the availability of water and wood. Much of the land was unsuitable for agriculture. It was impossible to make a living on only 5 acres of ground consisting of a building lot, an acre lot and a four acre lot lying in different parts of the settlement. Because of its scattered nature, the men found it difficult to control their property. They had no conveyances and there was no market for their produce. Immediately upon arrival they faced four years of drought conditions, locusts and stock diseases. Owing to the Cattle Killing, Governor Grey feared trouble amongst the Xhosas. He therefore placed the Legion on full pay and military service, and the proclamation was extended to the 31st March, 1861, when the Legion was disbanded. The Government openly recruited Legionaries for other services. There was a general lack of wives and no prospect of getting any. The men were restless, as could be expected from single men living alone, each one in his own cottage. They were isolated from all contacts with civilisation. Gen. von Stutterheim soon left South Africa and the Legion, instead of being placed under Col. J. W. Wooldridge, who was the second officer in charge, was brought under the direct control of Gen. Sir James Jackson, the commander of the British forces at Grahams-

town. The Legionaries complained that he was unsympathetic towards them. Gen. Jackson told the Legionaries that they were soldiers and not agriculturists. He ordered the officers to keep their men at the highest standard of efficiency.

Major Crompton summed up the case for the officers. They had to pay from 5/- to 17/6 per acre for their land, while, at the same time the Grantees were getting large farms for nothing on condition that they paid a small annual quitrent and held themselves in readiness to be called up for military service when required. The officers, when on full duty, did not get the Colonial Allowance of 3/- a day and the privilege of bulk and barrel which were enjoyed by the officers of British regiments. Governor Wodehouse supported these claims, but the authorities in England rejected them, claiming that the Legion officers were Military Settlers and were receiving all that was due to them.

There are those who claim that the men of the British German Legion were unsuitable as settlers. They point to the small acreage actually cultivated and the small number of houses erected. They accuse the men of indolence. These critics overlook the fact that until they were disbanded, the men were mostly on full military duty. They are blamed for not doing what they were prevented from doing. Such critics mention the large number of Legionaries imprisoned from time to time. This was mostly for breaches of military discipline and was in accordance with the harsh spirit of the time. During a period of 22 months the Criminal Court of British Kaffraria dealt with 16 cases of serious crime committed by Legionaries. These cases included that of Nikolaus Dahl, who as a sentry by mischance shot and killed a woman, and yet was hanged as a murderer. Considering that there were 2,362 officers and men in the Legion, 2,000 of them without wives and neither home nor barrack ties, and in view of the lonely conditions under which they lived, this cannot be considered to be a high incidence of crime. It is true that Sir George Grey did say that there were many desperate characters in the Legion recruited from some of the worst seaports on the Continent, but he also said that there were many good characters in it. The Legion went through a process of sifting and the shiftless characters moved off in search of adventure elsewhere. When finally placed upon a civil basis, the behaviour of the men was good and they could make their contribution to South Africa in many ways. Soon after their arrival, when adverse criticisms were voiced by an irresponsible press, Lieutenant B. Simner of the 1st Regiment came forward in defence of the Legion. Today a century later, old residents who still remember the Legion vigorously deny that the men of the Legion were a failure.

B. E. PAPE.

Ernst Friedrich Georg von Lindingen. Born 14/11/1818, Kilkenen, Ireland. Died 14/11/1858. Killed in Action with Kaffir Chief Sandile. Son of Lt. Col. von L.

Baron Wilhelm Carl Ferdinand von Linsingen. Born 1/7/1822, Hanover, 2/3/1822, killed near Winnis, 14/11/1880

THE DISPOSITION OF THE BRITISH GERMAN LEGION

Chief Commissioner: Maj. Gen.-Baron Richard von Stutterheim.
Assistant Commissioner: Col. James Warwick Wooldridge.
Assistant Military Secretary: Major Georg Follenius.
Extra: Captain Charles Mills, Captain Ernst Hoffmann.
(With the exception of Col. Wooldridge the General staff was resident in Stutterheim).

1st Regiment: Headquarters at Wooldridge in the Peddie district.

Staff: Col. J. W. Wooldridge; Capt. Charles T. Dumaresq, Paymaster; Chaplain Heinrich Oppermann; Surgeon Dr. Fabian Samoje; Dispenser, Albert Schneider.
Wooldridge: Major Evans Crompton; Lieutenant August Schmidt, and about 100 men.
Bodiam: Captain Adolph von Brandis, and about 100 men.
Hamburg: Captain Johann de Fin; Lieutenant Friedrich Goeldner, and about 100 men.
Bell: Captain von Neviadomski and about 80 men.
Fort Peddie: Captain Edward Valentine, and about 50 men.
East London: Major Julius Kessler; Lieutenant Adolph Ernst Bauer; Ensign Friedrich Doesel, and about 150 men.
Cambridge: Captain Carl Friedrich La Croix, and about 100 men.
Pannure: Captain Franz Mischke; Lieutenant Friedrich Essellen, and about 100 men.

2nd Regiment: Headquarters at Berlin in the King William's Town district.

Staff: Lt.-Col. Adolph von Hake; Lt.-Col. John Hambly Humfrey, Paymaster; Chaplain, Otto Wilmans; Surgeon, Dr. Armin; Luentzel; Dispenser, Georg Brauns.
Potsdam: Major William Douglas Scott, and about 100 men.
Berlin: Captain Count Carl Artbur von Lillenstein; Lieutenant Count Rudolph von Ronow, and about 100 men.
Hannover: Captain Carl von Brandis, and about 100 men.
Marienthal: Captain Otto Mehlis, and about 50 men.
Wiesbaden: Captain Baron Wilhelm von Linsingen, and about 100 men.
Breidbach: Captain Wilhelm von Goenner; Lieutenant Alexander Gropp, and about 80 men.
King William's Town: Major Friedrich Wilhelm Wolfabrt; Lieutenant Otto Berg, and about 80 men.

3rd Regiment: Headquarters at Stutterheim.

Staff: Lt.-Col. Edward Kent Murray; Captain John Maxwell, Paymaster; Chaplain. A. Kropf, of the Berlin Mission Society at Bethel; Surgeon, Dr. Adolph Dankwerts; Dispenser, Alexander Mueller.
Greytown: Major Ludolph von Clasen, and about 100 men.
Stutterheim: Captain Hugo Schulz; Captain Alfredo von Gontard; Lieutenant Jean de Packh, and about 240 men.
Keiskama Hoek: Lieutenant Louis Lentz, and about 50 men.
Braunschweig: Captain Carl Muenter, and about 100 men.
Ohlsen: Lieutenant Carl Leopold von Tempsky, and about 50 men.
Koldtag: Captain Johann Schneider, and about 50 men.
Frankfort: Captain Baron Ernst von Kronenfeldt, and about 80 men.
Cavalry at Greytown.
1st Squadron: Captain John Hunt; Lieutenant Walter Ward, and about 80 men.

Cavalry at Stutterheim.
2nd Squadron: Captain Douglas de Fenzi; Lieutenant Christian Johannsen, and about 80 men.
Assistant Surgeons.
1st Regiment: Dr. Wilhelm Brink, Victoria East district; Dr . Charles Vix, East London.
2nd Regiment: Dr. Arpur Wilmans, King William's Town; Dr. Adolph Abrenhold. Frankfort.
3rd Regiment: Dr. Carl Winsell, Greytown; Dr. Friedrich Koeneke, Braunschweig.

LIST OF SUPERNUMERARY OFFICES AND GENTLEMAN CADETS

(Some of these men were later appointed to vacancies in the officers' corps of the Legion).

Lieutenant Friedrich Schermbrucker: Discharged.
Ensign Hugo Broeker: Berlin.
Lieutenant Francis Valentine: Fort Peddie
Lieutenant Heinrich von Broembsen: East London.
Lieutenant Wilhelm Luckhardt: Berlin.
Ensign Otto Julius: Berlin.
Ensign Alfred Mamtz: East London.
Lieutenant Edward von Misani: East London.
Captain Eugen von Skopnik: Greytown.
Ensign A'exander Gordon: Berlin.
Lieutenant Richard A. Cumberidge: Bodiam.
Ensign Robert Bertram: Wooldridge.
Ensign Albert von Buddenbrock: East London.
Ensign Friedrich Loeffler: East London.
Ensign Adolph Widerkehr: Cambridge.
Ensign Oscar Louis Schmidt: East London.
Ensign Friedrich Goeldner: Hanburg.
Ensign Graham Pogson: Braunschweig.
Ensign Heinrich von Bothmer: Wiesbaden.
Ensign Edward Virnard: Keiskama Hoek.
Lieutenant Rudolph Lentz: Braunschweig.
Lieutenant Carl Sergel: Stutterheim.
Ensign Benjamin Simner: Greytown.
Ensign Burghardt von Wissel: King William's Town.
Cornet Johann C. Koopmans: Cape Town.
Ensign August Patuschika: Bell.
Lieutenant Johann Petersen: King William's Town.
Lieutenant Friedrich Herbing: Wiesbaden.
Lieutenant Baron Rudolph von Rosenberg: East London.
Lieutenant Wilhelm Risler: Wooldridge.
Ensign Henry Halliday: Stutterheim.
Ensign Albert Buetiner: Stutterheim.
Lieutenant Hugo von Buddenbrock: East London.
Ensign Edward Robinson: Wooldridge.
Lieutenant Julius von Kuersinger: Berlin.
Ensign Anton Stoehr: Keiskama Hoek.
Lieutenant Hugo Heymann: Died.

Col. F. Schermbrucker

Captain Count Rudolph von Rex in Berlin.
Dispenser Alexander Mueller: Stutterheim.
Ensign Georg Bunde: King William's Town.
Lieutenant Friedrich von Langen: East London.
Captain Gustav Wahle: Berlin.
Ensign William Bramey: Stutterheim.
Lieutenant Count Franz von Hirschberg: Berlin.
Ensign Paul Jaenicke: Stutterheim.

THE MEN OF THE BRITISH GERMAN LEGION WHO OBTAINED GRANTS OF LAND

=Towns in Africa settlements

PEDDIE, WOOLDRIDGE, BELL, BODIAM, HAMBURG

Anke—Johannes
Aug.horn—Johann
Betzing—Herman
Birkigt—August
Berlin—Johann
Bouwen—George
Bravedt—Michael
Brewer—Adolph Constantin
Bluhm—Wilhelm
Casse.—Carl
Duwert—George
D'Evine—Edward
Dirks—Franz
Epple—Leopold
Eck—Bernhardt (Cp.)
Ebrecht—Christian
Frank—Kilian
Fisher—Charles
Glazer—Jacob
Graf—Bernhardt
Gau—Wilhelm
Gever:—Otto
Gerken—Emma (Hushan: died before issue of Grant)
Goldner—Friedrich Adolf
Holzkamper—Hermanus
Hintze—Heinrich
Hildebrand—Ernst
Huffmann—Ludwig
Henze'—Caesar Carl
Hermann—Joseph
Heid—Bernard
Holzendorfer—Johann
Harper—Margaretha, widow of late Colour Sergeant Nicolaas Harper
Herbst—August
Henze—Heinrich
Jwansen—Godfried Herman
Kerl:—Joseph
Kaufmann—Johann
Kaseasen—August Heinrich
Kasorek—Vincenz
Kuhn—Christoph
Kirner—Friedrich
Loeben—Johan
Liesering—Berthold
Land—George
Lay—Friedrich
Luneberg—Hermann
Michel—Martin
Muller—Ludwig
Metzkes—Peter (coll. sergt. 8th 60th Rifle Reg.)
Mangold—Peter
Nachtergal:—Bruno
Neasper—Carl

Ollesch—Heinrich
Prehm—Heinrich
Pfaff—Edward
Pruhn—Friederich
Perro—Louis
Pinnois—Joseph
Quedman—Louis
Von Quickelberge—Désiré
Rubberts—Christian Edward
Rolfsen—Lauritz
Roskoch—Franze
Rutters—Francis (sgt. F.A.M. Police No. 5 60)
Rasmussen—Jens
Rien—Gottlieb
Rischbitter—Theodor
Ruys—Peter
Risler—Wilhe.m
Seeleman—Otto
Schmidt—Pieter
Serpine—David
Schonfeld—Wilhelm
Stieghorst—August
Schillings—Jean
Schamburger—Anton

Standt—Matthaus
Schmal—Franz Jacob
Schaup—Francois
Schneider—Christian
Schulze—Christoph
Stelzner—Phillip
Schreiber—Ferdinand
Siegert—Carl Freidrich August (Private C.F.A.)
Stahl—Constanz
Schlette—Johann
Schuppan—Wilhelm
Thomass—August (Private No. 450)
Teubert—Freidrich Wilhelm
Valentine—Francis James
Volkenhorn—Carl
Wagner—Michael
Warnecke—Heinrich
Weber—Heinrich
Wittig—Anthony
Wolter—Carl
Wollenschlagenr—Johann
Windorff—Carl Ferdinand (Private)
Werner—Carl
Brunner—Johann

(The above list of names was supplied by the Registrar of Deeds at Cape Town).

EAST LONDON, PANMURE, CAMBRIDGE

Aitmos, Heinrich
Anschütz, Ernst
Asaman, Guido
Bäkermann, Johann
Bartels, Heinrich
Barthald, Hendrick
Bauer, Adolph
Birkenbach, Carl
Bittlinger, Johann
Blechschmidt, August
Boeser, Conrad
Bothe, Friedrich
Boye, Louis
Breit, Matheus
Brinckmann, Heinrich
Brunn, Ludwig
Bruhns, Matthias
Buddenbrock, Albert von
Buddenbrock, Hugo von
Burgun, Antonie
Dann, Thomas
Demmer, Ignatz

Diemer, Christoph
Doesel, Friedrich
Dreyer, Fritz
Ehlinger, Peter
Ehrich, Anton
Eisen, John
Erbrecht, Jean
Essenwein, Franz
Falke, August
Feistel, Julius
Frickel, Jacob
Gerbig, Karl
Goereke, Carl
Goldsmith, Louis
Graff, Herrmann
Grossmann, Peter
Grutius, Franz
Haak, Ferdinand
Hackert (Haekert?), Johann
Hangs, Thomas
Havernick, Johann
Heldtmann, Heinrich

Helwig, Friedrich
Henkes, Jean
Herb, Georg
Hering, Gustav
Herlinger (Hirlinger?), Christian
Hetman, Johann
Heyne, Friedrich
Hill, Petar
Hlob, Christian
Hohmann, Friedrich
Holzer, Carl
Hruska, Anton
Imetaberger, Heinrich
Inenk, Peter
Iiblets, Edward
Itner, Carl
Jaeger, Friedrich
Janz, Jacob
Jonas, Henry
Jost, Jacob
Jung, Johann
Kayser, Franz
Keil, Carl
Keil, Friedrich
Keitz, Julius
Kessler, Julius
Klein Friedrich
Kohl, Carl
Korte, Gustav
Kraus, Heinrich
Langen, Friedrich von
Langenberger, Anton
Lesmann, Wilhelm
Lolitch, Francois
Lunderstedt, Friedrich
Marzinghaus, Friedrich
Martins, Leopold
Martzens, Jens
Maseberg, Friedrich
Meise, Heinrich
Menk, Martin
Menk, Peter
Misani, Edward von
Mischke, Franz
Morz, Carl
Müller, Christian
Müller, Joseph
Müller, Otto
Nicolai, Carl
Nordhorn, Heinrich

Ohlsen, Ludolph
Olderhausen, August
Oppermann, Johann
Pfeifer, Herrmann
Pfisterer, Jacob
Rau, Friedrich
Rehbock, Julius
Reil, Johann
Reneke (Rencke?), Martin
Rihsling, August
Rimmelin, Anton
Roggenkemp, Wilhelm
Rohland, Hugo
Rosenberg-Lipinsky, Rudolph von
Rooke, Carl
Rossmann, Wilhelm
Rossmeyer, William, son of the late Ernst.
Satori, Michael
Schaefer, Freidrich
Schetler, Heinrich
Schlick, Friedrich
Schmidt, Bernhardt
Schmidt, Carl
Schmohl, Carl
Scholl, Philipp
Schormann, Thomas
Schrank, Freidrich
Schwerin, Hugo von
Seeler, Leopold
Seewald, Johann
Seiderer, Wolfgang
Selzer, Conrad
Seybold, Johann
Seyler, Nicolaus
Siebel, Friedrich
Specht, Georg
Stock, Emil
Stolze, Friedrich
Tintinger (Tentinger?), Johann
Vandeau (?), Petrus
Vix, Charles
Vogler, Carl
Voigt, Rudolph
Volly, August
Voss, Christian
Weber, Albert
Weber, Gustav
Welden, John
Wentz, Christoph

Wiede, Johann
Wilke, Johann

POTSDAM

Bauer, Hubert
Bauer, Siriak
Birkenmeyer, Friedrich
Bothner (Bottmer?), Friedrich
Dauenhauer, Franz
Decken, Adolph von der
Endres, Georg
Faerber, Johann
Fammang, Hubert
Gangner, Gottfried
Gillin, Louis
Hennig, Wilhelm
Holzinger, Jacob
Killmann, Wilhelm
Kühne, Friedrich

BERLIN

Albrecht, Wilhelm
Bachmann, Carl
Bauer, Carl
Beker, Wemtelin
Berghoff, Edward
Bierking, Wilhelm
Bierschenk, Christoph
Bitzor, Conrad
Brauns, Georg
Bröker, Hugo
Dervitt, Francis
Dohrmeyer, Georg
Forges, Friedrich
Gehlig, Bonno
Giergens, Friedrich
Gladenbeck, Julius
Goslich, Franz
Hake, Albertine von
Hartenstein, Carl
Hauschild, Peter
Heese, Johann
Herrendoerfer, Friedrich
Hirschberg, Franz Graf von

CHARLOTTENBURG

Bister, Paul
Brach, Nicolaus
Grotjahn, August
Hohmann, Heinrich
Jonssen, Friedrich

Willmer(s), Johann

Kürsten, Ferdinand
Kutscher, Hermann
Langner, Gottfried
Müller, Carl
Schaefer, Emil
Schmidt, Wilhelm
Scott, William Douglas
Staudenmacher, Bernhard
Tremper, Louis
Wald, Alois
Weber, Heinrich
Wilhelm, Georg
Zech, August Baron von
Zeitler, Johann

Huhner, Christian
Humfrey, John
Koch, Carl
König, Andreas
Lillenstein, Carl Graf von
Löwe, Carl
Ludwig, Hermann
Lünzel, Armin
Marmitzky, Adolph
Menzhausen, Carl
Müller, Heinrich
Müller Johann
Nessler, Moritz von
Rohlfs, Claus
Ruppert, Johann
Schneider, Anton
Stephan, Robert
Sturm, Christian
Wankel, Gustav
Warnecke, Friedrich
Winkelmann, August
Winkelmann, Friedrich
Zeller, Johann

Koopmans, Alexander de
Mesdoms, Victor
Minhorst, Friedrich
Pabst, August
Ronow, Count Rudolph von

BLANEY

Goeldener, Julius
Mehlis, Otto

BREIDBACH

Behling, Wilhelm
Behr, Leo
Bischoff, Jacob
Breuzel, Daniel
Brumer, Joseph
Buschmann, Louis
Bygenhold, Georg
Drude, Fritz
Fussenegger, Anton
Gerardy, Louis
Gönner, Capt. Wilhelm von
Görtz, Friedrich
Gropp, Alexander
Helwig, Wilhelm
Hilpert, Robert
Holzhausen, August
Ilgen, Adolf
Ilgen, Jacob

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

Bentz, Friedrich
Billet, Edward
Binder Joseph
Blasser, Leopold
Dengler, William
Friedrichs, Christian
Frisch, Wilhelm
George, Henriette (widow)
Graber, Georg
Grasstorff, Carl
Haist, Georg
Heil, Jacob
Heinrich, August
Homann, Johann
Hundertmark, Joseph
Jacobs, Georg
Jager, Carl
Johrmann, Heinrich
Kaufmann, Carl
Killilan, Friedrich
Kirchner, Edward
Knoblauch, Christian
Kreutle (Kreutle?), Johann
Kursinger, Julius von
Landsberg, Helena, widow of Otto Berg
Langenbach, Friedrich

Ohlsen, Gabriel

Kleinschrot, Christoph
Klingner, Robert
Klingner, Wilhelm
Kuhlmann, Willilam
Lehmann, Carl
Lenzesky, Reinhold
Lieberum, Heinrich
Mathes, Herrmann
Mehnert, Friedrich
Meyer, Nicolaus
Mönnig, Heinrich
Phillippe, Adam
Reichel, Franz
Schmidt, Franz
Schutt, Johann
Tegen, Jacob
Vorbrodt, Gottlieb

Linsenmeyer, Christian
Lochner, Wilhelm
Maas, August
Meiyer, Heinrich
Mertz, Johann
Neubert, Heinrich
Patuschka, August
Peterson, Edward
Ramlet, Gustav
Reb, Jacob
Reichardt, Franz
Reubold, Adam
Rohland, Albert
Schaefer, Adam
Schanzel, Friedrich
Scheidel, Louis
Schermbrucker, Friedrich
Schivein, Balthasar
Schkottis, Johann
Schulz, Albert
Sperling, Wilhelm
Stolz, August
Voss, Jean de
Walter, Georg
Wilmans, Arpur

HANNOVER

Beikempe. Carl
Brandis, Carl von
Claus, Wilhelm
Decker, August
Diedrichsen, Heinrich
Donian, Oscar
Grussendorf, Louis
Heyde, Fritz von der
Jahns, Wilhelm
Karp, Johann
Kayser, Ernst
Kies, August
Kleist, Gustav
Lehmann, Ernst
Martens, Christian
Müller, Heinrich

MARIENTHAL

Diehl, Carl
Glitzinger, Mathias
Hertzberg, Ewald
Ingwersen, Hansen
Ketterer, Baptist
Krienke, Christian
Libutzki, Johann
Luden, Mathias

WIESBADEN

Arenhold, Dr. Adolph
Asen, Carl
Auch, Georg
Bode, Elisabeth, widow of Carl Sporleder
Bode, Wilhelm
Buttler, Franz
Butz, Augusta (widow)
Clur, Johann
Deneke, Ferdinand
Differting, Georg
Fliesh, Gottfrid
Gebele, Andreas
Haag, Johann
Hartig, Lorenz
Heidke, Gottfried
Kaiser, Wilhelm
Kleckers, Johann

FRANKFORT

→ Andre, Frederic
Bramley, William
Brenneur, Joseph
Coussemend, Thomas
Niemack, Wilhelm
Peters, Wilhelm
Reckling, Wilhelm
Ritter, Wilhelm
Roggenkamp, Carl
Rustenberg, Theodor
Schmidt, Henry
Schockel, Christian
Schrader, Heinrich
Spengler, Theodor
Struver, Otto
Thürnau (Thürmann?); Otto
Voigt, Louis
Warkus, Ernst
Westphal, Wilhelm
Wiegmann, Friedrich

Mammoser, Carl
Meyer, Wilhelm
Müller, Heinrich
Rose, Gustav
Stern, Franz
Weiss, Ludwig
Werner, Michael
Zinn, Peter

Kubler, Martin
Leibach, Jacob
Leins, Jacob
Linsingen, Capt. Wilhelm von
Lorenz, Martin
Maurer, Gottlob
Moser, Joseph
Ratzel, Peter
Schneider, Adam
Spaun, Gottfried
Wagner, Johann
Walter, Philipp
Weimar, Adam
Wenzler, Reinhold
Wienkowsky, Friedrich von
Zacherl, Anton
Zimmermann, Louis

Decroi, Henri
Delay, Louis
Dom, Egidius
Gosselain, Henry

Graaff, Friedrich
Houzet, Jean Baptist
Hunt, John
Johannsen, Christian
Jourdan, Louis
Lambert, Nicolaus
Larivière, Henry

OHLSEN

Apell, Heinrich
Behrens, Friedrich
Belling, Johann
Below, Gustav von
Buckmann, August
Dinger, Ludwig
Egger, Heinrich
Heidemann, Friedrich
Kampfert, Friedrich
Friedrich, Heinrich
Katzke, August
Kleemeger, Christian
Knorr, Heinrich
Korner, Thodor
Kropf, Albert
Löwe, Friedrich
Müller, Philipp
Müller, Wilhelm
Meerholz, Wilhelm
Nagel, Franz

STUTTERHEIM

Ahlborn, Adolph
Arnold, August
Auth, Johannes
Becker, Jacob
Bellon, Peter
Bentz, Georg
Bernd, Otto
Berner, Louis
Bertram, Otto
Beutel, August
Billig, Adolph
Bolze, Johann
Borrmann, Carl
Boucher, Marcel
Budry, Levin
Büttner, Albert
Couve, Alexander
Danckwarts, Adolph
Delius, Georg
Dohrmeyer, Gustav
Dollander, Peter

Lefebure, Charles
Licenz, Pierre
Litke, Carl von der
Pipart, Joseph
Reuter, Hermann
Rynders, Albert

Ohlsen, Julius Rudolph
Opitz, Theodor
Peters, Johann
Rahn, Friedrich
Reich, Constantin
Rinaldo, Alfred
Rose, Friedrich
Rudolph, Hermann
Rusch, August
Schmidt, August
Schmidt, Heinrich
Schneider, Johann
Schwarz, Georg
Siewert, Fritz
Steffenhagen, Heinrich
Stutzer, Friedrich
Tempsky, Charles Leopold von
Untiedt, Friedrich
Watterhoefer, Wilhelm

Donie, Peter van
Dosdor, Ignatz
Driesselmann, Heinrich
Elbershausen, Friedrich
Elter, Albert
Faass, Ludwig
Fack, Carl
Fentzi, John Douglas di (de?)
Ferdinandson, Caroline, widow of William
Fleck, Heinrich
Frechel, Adolf
Frankel, Ludwig
Glanz, Adam
Goldenboth (Goldenbroth), Jacob
Goler, Joseph
Gontard, Alfons von
Gordon, Albert von
Grafenkranz, Ferdinand
Greininger, William
Groch, Wilhelm

Hagedorn (Hagedann?), Hermann
Hahn, Carl
Hansen, Johann
Heder, August
Heeres, Heinrich
Heilmann, Adam
Heltz, Emil
Helferich, Conrad
Herbst, Robert
Herrmann, Georg
Hermanns, Hubert
Hillmer, Wilhelm
Hilner, Julius
Hirborth (Herborth?), August
Holborn, Friedrich
Holtegel, Carl
Holzhauser, Johann
Homann, Friedrich
Huber, Angelus
Jaquet, Paul
Johannsen, Christian
Kaphengst, Louis
Katzenellenbogen, Carl
Kernekamp, Friedrich
Kiefer, Louis
Kiefer, Peter
Kinder, Nicolaus
Kieb, Jacob
Klinkle, Michael
Kochstein, Heinrich
Korner, Carl
Kramer, Herrmann
Kramer, Joseph
Kreeke, Michael
Krummer, Julius
Langenfeldt, Heinrich
Lehmkuhl, Christian
Leimbke, Albert
Lentz, Rudolph
Leonhard, Heinrich
Linder, Conrad
Lotz, Johannes
Mass, Louis
Martin, Peter
Mattuscheck, August
Meier, Louise (widow)
Meyer, Wilhelm
Michael, Friedrich
Mills, Charles
Minoe, Louis
Moinig, August
Moller, Michael
Mommien, Leonhard
Müller, Alexander
Müller, Heinrich
Müller, Ludwig
Murray, Edward Kent
Nonnenmacher, Michael
Ossenfeld, Gottlieb
Packh, Jean Baptist de
Paech, Georg
Persichl (Persiehl?), August
Peruch, Heinrich
Pfeil, Jacob
Pickler, Leo
Plasche, Ferdinand van der
Prinz, Wilhelm
Ptingilen, Ernst
Regensburg, Adolph
Regensburg, Julius
Richter, Edward
Roesky, Adolf
Reily, Carl
Rud-, Robert
Rust, Joseph
Schaeffner, Adolph
Schiunz, Heinrica
Schmidt Heinrich
Schnepel, (Schnefsel?), Paul
Schultz, Hugo
Schuster, Johann
Schwartzel, Johann
Seitz, Carl
Siefers, August
Sing, Ludwig
Spring, Heinrich
Stötter, Assmus
Stricker, Heinrich
Stuttzhein, Richard Charley Baron von
Tiedt, Christian
Topfer, Christian
Trautmann, Carl
Uzhofer, Jacob
Volb, Johann
Waage, Carl
Walter, Jacob
Wambach, Daniel
Wange, Carl
Wendel, Heinrich
Wiach, Christian

Woratz, August
Zeiss, Martin

GRETTOWN

Asseburg, Alvin von
Becker, Conrad
Bister, Friedrich
Clasen, Ludnif von
Doering, Wilhelm
Duvergnoan, Henry
Esprit, Adolph
Hagen, Carl von
Haker, Wilhelm
Jacoby, Wilhelm
Kallis, Constanin
Konowsky, Wilhelm
Lehmann, Rudolph
Lihmann, Peter
Loser, Michael
Osselaer, John
Pauls, Thomas
Rohden, Werner
Seiler, Johann
Sennhaven, David
Skopnick, Eugen von
Spangenberg, Franz
Lass, Wilhelm
Weber, Carl
Winssell, Carl
Zuckermaier, Leo

BRAUNSCHWEIG

Baier, Gustav
Bluhm, Carl
Defin, Baron
Fries, Ludwig
Geddin, Charles
Green, Catherine, widow of Otto Falkenstein
Gruneberg, Joseph
Hengstberger, Joseph
Hennemeyer, Julius
Herbing, Friedrich
Herrmann, Henry
Letzbeyer, Jacob
Marquetty, Jean
Mathies, August
Moll, Xaver
Münter, Carl
Nollé Désiré
Pentz, Wilhelm von
Ritter, Arnold
Rielander, Louis
Sage, Joseph
Simon, Jean
Süssmilch, Carl
Thieme, Carl

KEISKAMA HOEK

Arnold, Joachim
Arnold, Nicolaus
Burgersheim, Ernst
Frauenstein, Gustav
Goldschmidt, Joseph
Grimme, Wilhelm
Harter, Johann
Heinrich, Wilhelm
Henker, Heinrich
Hoffmann, Wilhelm
Hohmann, Johann
Kirschner, Adolph
Krebs, Heinrich
Kruger, Wilhelm
Lettmer, Heinrich
Marz, Heinrich
Meyer, Carl
Meyer, Christian
Müller, Wilhelm
Poock, Conrad
Schaeffer, Carl
Skowronek, Felix
Steinmann, Edward
Stohr, Anton

(The above lists of names were compiled by Miss Else Pape in the Deeds Office at King William's Town).

THE GERMAN IMMIGRANTS OF 1858-1859

THE REASON FOR THEIR COMING

In a letter which Sir George Grey wrote to the Colonial Secretary, the Hon. H. Labouchere, he referred to the coming of the British German Legion to British Kaffraria. He pointed out that there was a general lack of wives amongst the Legionaries. For this reason the military settlements were unstable and the men would leave in search of wives as soon as they were free from their military commitments. Grey went on to say that the Kaffirs had been driven out of their strongholds. Since 1852 the country was being held by no fewer than 2,500 troops at an annual cost of £105,000. If the troops marched out, the Kaffirs would come back again. The first point he had to consider was the character of the population he had to introduce. The German Military Settlers had been located in villages, the sites of which had been chosen with a view to the future defence of the country. It was therefore desirable to render these permanent and productive locations. They were present military population with their defendible villages formed a nucleus around which a body of peasants might cluster with a certainty of success. The German soldiers had no money to hire British labourers. Because of differences in race, he did not think that this was a desirable procedure, although he intended introducing British Emigrants in considerable numbers into British Kaffraria. It appeared to him that he might with great success introduce into each German Military Village a number of families of German cultivators of the soil. The German Military Settlers would on the arrival of those persons cheerfully give them house-room and render those kind and friendly offices, which are so valuable to newly arrived Settlers. There was no doubt that the military villages reinforced by an emigration of families of this kind would remain permanent locations, and as the German officers constituted a class of resident country gentry, and the villages were provided with clergymen, schools and medical attendants, all of the same nation as the newly arriving emigrants, they would together constitute a society of barmonious elements which might readily attain to a great degree of prosperity. He proposed to bring out 2,000 emigrants a year for two years. The cost would be £50,000 and he proposed giving debentures bearing 6 per cent interest to cover this cost. The annual charge of £3,000 in interest on the revenue of British Kaffraria would. he felt sure, be more than paid each year by the increasing receipts from the augmented population and from the general improvement which would take place in the country. The Emigrants would also pay for their land. The amounts thus paid would by degrees yield a considerable land fund, which would be available for the general expenses of the country and for immigration purposes. The augmented population would put British Kaffraria into such a position that it would cease to be a cause of anxiety and expense to Great Britain. The public had great confidence in the resources and prosperity of the country and there was no difficulty in procuring a loan of £50,000 on the security of its own revenue. In a further letter to Labouchere Grey stated that the last defence was to have the European people bear a reasonable ratio to coloured races and at his request Parliament therefore voted £50,000 to enable the Government to bring Immigrants on a large scale to the Colony. In the background there was always the need of providing brides for the bachelor Legionaries.

THE PRELIMINARY WORK

Sir George Grey was a man of action. He got into touch with the firm of J. C. Godeffroy of Hamburg to act as emigration agents. Then he reported what he had done to London. Gen. v. Stutterheim recommended the firm of Godeffroy to Grey. Stutterheim thought that they would be cautious and would not advertise in the papers. German laws were stringent against emigration, which, it was claimed, deprived the landowner of labourers, the manufacturer of workmen and the state of soldiers. Only Germans who had state permission could act as agents. Dieseldorff and Co. of Hamburg did the actual recruiting work for Godeffroy and Son, and issued a prospectus, which was distributed by their local agents in various parts of Germany. W. Berg and Co. of Cape Town were the South African agents for J. C. Godeffroy and Son.

After a contract for 4,000 emigrants had been signed with Godeffroy and Son, the Colonial office in London arbitrarily reduced the total number of emigrants to 1,600. The firm was paid a sum of £5,000 to compensate it for any losses it might have to face through this reduction. This amount was debited against the Imperial vote for British Kaffraria.

When the news of the emigration scheme became known in Germany, groups of people gathered and discussed the pros and cons of emigrating to South Africa. Emigration to other parts of the world was not unknown to them, as many had already considered going to Brazil. Often the women were the keenest to go. This may have been due to the fact that many were older than their husbands.. All those who wished to emigrate were required to advertise in a newspaper their intention of doing so. Birth, marriage and character certificates had to be produced. Exit permits had also to be obtained from the state authorities concerned. Each person accepted was further required to make a deposit of 10 Prussian Thalers (a little more than £1/10/-). This sum covered the advertisement already mentioned, the cost of a medical certificate and other minor matters. Each emigrant had to sign a contract for himself and his family by which he bound himself to go to British Kaffraria and to accept the obligations contained in the Regulations which governed the scheme. He agreed for himself and his heirs to repay the passage money and the purchase price of his land. Unattached persons such as a widowed grandfather or grandmother or unmarried brothers or sisters could be counted together with a family, always providing that the number of persons thus obtained was not unduly large.

THE IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT CONDITIONS

A bounty of £12/10/- to cover the passage money was paid to Godeffroy and Son for each adult. Two children of the ages of one year and under 10 years were deemed equal to one adult. No bounty was paid for children under one year. The bounty was payable also in respect of widows or widowers if the death of the partner occurred before embarkation at Hamburg. Land was to cost £1 an acre. It was to be good agricultural land. Each married couple was to get 20 acres of this land, every single man 10 acres. In addition 5 acres were to be granted for each child over 14 years of age and 3 acres for children over 10 ears of age. Generally the average age of parents was not to exceed 50 years, but Messrs. Godeffroy and Son could use their discretion and go beyond 50 years if there were at least 3 unmarried daughters between the ages of 12 and 25 years. Half the bounty was to be remitted for such daughters. The Immigrants were to receive tents, and rations for 10 days after landing or half rations for 20 days. Repayment of the money for the passage and the purchase of the land was to be made as follows: one fifth after the fourth year, one fifth after the fifth year, one fifth after the sixth year, one fifth

after the seventh year and one fifth after the eighth year after arrival at East London. No interest was to be paid on the passage or purchase money. The Immigrants were to be conveyed free of charge from the camp at Panmure to their destinations. No customs duty was to be paid on personal baggage and effects. Titles to land were to be issued free of charge after the full debt had been discharged. No survey charges were to be made.

THE DEPARTURE

When all the farewells had been said, the emigrants left for the nearest railway station. They were taken there by horse-cart, which often belonged to the local lord or squire. Then the journey was continued by train, via Berlin, to Hamburg. The emigrants had to pay their own train fares. Once arrived at Hamburg, the passengers were advised to stay in the lodging house "Stadt Dresden", owned by C. A. Reimers, Eichholzstrasse No. 39, or "Stadt Quebec", owned by C. L. Baumgarten of Johannesbollwerk No. 29. They were requested to arrive in Hamburg two days before their ship was due to sail. They had to bring their own bedding and kitchen utensils, such as cups and plates. All were warned to be on their guard against sharpsters and tricksters. When all the documents had been signed, the passengers were allowed to embark.

ON THE VOYAGE

The passengers were under the control of the captain of their ship, but they were asked to choose a "Vorstand", which acted as an intermediary between the captain and themselves. Each adult was allowed 20 cubic feet, Hamburg measure, of baggage. Chests and trunks had to be 1 foot 5 inches wide, 1 foot five inches high and 2½ feet long, making 5 feet cubic Hamburg measure. Excess baggage cost one half a Prussian Thaler per cubic foot. The baggage was divided into such as was to be accessible during the voyage and such as was stowed away in the hold.

The passengers were divided into groups of 10 or 12, and the men in the group took turns in serving as steward for a week at a time. All ate at boxes near their sleeping quarters. The steward for the time being drew the rations for his group and handed them to the cook, from whom he received them back when prepared. Rations of bread and hutter were issued to the families for a week at a time. Each company had a tea or coffee pot between them. The steward brought it filled from the kitchen, coffee in the morning and tea in the evening. Each passenger was allowed a bottle of water a day. The hill of fare provided the following: Sundays a half pound beef, meal for a pudding, and dried fruit, and a bottle of wine for every 8 persons; Mondays, a half pound pork, sauerkraut and potatoes; Tuesdays, a half pound beef and peas or beans; Wednesdays, fish, peas or beans and potatoes; Thursdays, a half pound beef and thick rice with syrup and raisins; Fridays, a half pound of pork and peas or beans and potatoes; Saturdays, pearl barley with syrup and dried fruit. Weekly each passenger was allowed 4 Loth (Loth approximates one half ounce) coffee, 1½ Loth tea, 8 Loth sugar, 16 Loth hutter and five pounds of white or black bread. Salt, mustard, pepper and vinegar were available as required. Sauerkraut and potatoes were to be served as long as they lasted and then other vegetables would be served. On the La Rochelle the passengers got an abundance of rice and prunes.

The passengers had to make their own beds, and the men took turns in cleaning the lower decks. Generally the voyages were favourable. The passengers of the Caesar Godeffroy handed a written testimonial to Captain Stortenbecker, thanking

him for the good care he had taken of them. They were lucky, because the captain of the La Rochelle was a sulky old sea-dog. The vessels called either at Cape Town or Simonstown on their way to East London. Scarlet fever broke out on the Caesar Godeffroy and caused the deaths of 18 children. In all, 119 children and 8 adults died on the way to South Africa. The Immigrants stoically accepted these losses of dear ones as part of their new venture in life.

The journeys were long but all successfully came to an end. Caesar Godeffroy, La Rochelle and Wilhelmsburg made fast passages of under three months. Wandrahm and Johann Caesar were three months on the way, and Peter Godeffroy took three months and three weeks.

THE ARRIVAL

Caesar Godeffroy was the first ship to arrive, on the 7th July, 1858, which is said to have been a sunny day. The other ships arrived at intervals from the 28th August, 1858 (La Rochelle) to the 1st February, 1859 (Johann Caesar). To effect landing a cable was fastened between the ship and the shore in the river mouth on the West Bank side. The Immigrants thus landed on the pontoon beside the Buffalo River. The baggage of the Immigrants was put into barges, the owners sat on top and a tarpaulin was spread over them. The air under the tarpaulin soon became fouled and the passengers suffered much from sea-sickness. As the weather was good, all the Immigrants from the Caesar Godeffroy were landed on the 7th July, 1858.

Careful preparations had been made at East London for the reception of the Immigrants. They were taken over the river by pontoon to a camp next to the German Military Settlement of Panmure, where they were housed in tents or wooden buildings. Sir George Grey asked that this be done so that the Legionaries might be of some assistance to the Immigrants. Interpreters were provided, who informed the newly arrived about the interior, and also brought them before the Immigration Board. This consisted of the magistrate, Mr. Matthew Jennings, Mr. W. Fagan and Major Sutton Scott. Captain Mischke later took the place of Mr. Jennings. The Board examined the contracts and satisfied itself that all the conditions of immigration had been observed. The Board provided ox-wagons and carts and sent the Immigrants off to their destinations along the route from Panmure to Berlin and beyond. They could choose to go to any place in British Kaffraria. Stations, however, were to be issued only to those going to the German villages. Through their early association with Panmure after landing, the Immigrants always referred to the latter East London as Panmure or Pellmoor, as they pronounced it.

Mostly the Immigrants received a very hearty welcome from the Legionaries. Many were taken into their houses. Mr. F. Schermbrucker extended a hearty welcome in the "Deutscher Beobachter" with the words, "Willkommen herzlich willkommen". He offered to help those Immigrants who took up land near his farm Castle Planey (Blaney). He also assisted five Swabian families for a while. Schermbrucker himself was a Bavarian. Besides the Immigrants, who found housroom in the houses of Legionaries, there were those who occupied empty Legion houses, others took shelter in the barracks left empty by the regular British troops who had gone to India, and still others were welcomed and housed by Dutch and English Colonists. Some of the Immigrants lived in the tents which had been provided for them. When the Immigrants arrived, there were 558 houses which had been vacated by Legionaries who had volunteered to serve in India. According to one report, only 223 of these houses were available for the Immigrants, and as 64

Martin Weyer in 1968

had been appropriated for other purposes such as hospitals, school rooms, orderly rooms and so forth, the number of houses actually vacant was 159. They were offered for sale to the Immigrants. The purchase money ranged from £6 to £20, all depending upon the condition of the house. The money had to be paid in five annual instalments. Some of the Immigrants refused to buy these houses on the plea that they already owed the Government so much money. About 109 Immigrant families either purchased or lived in houses vacated by the Legionaries.

When the Imperial authorities had reduced the number of Immigrants from 4,000 to 1,600, the firm of Godelfroy and Son was left with a surplus of 248½ souls. These were not prepared to have their contracts cancelled and had to be conveyed to South Africa. With the help of Sir Grey, engagements were found near Cape Town for 200 of them. The remaining 48½ souls were left on the hands of the agents, who had to collect the passage money as best they could.

Governor Grey expressed his satisfaction over the favourable report received from the Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria in respect of the Immigrants lately arrived and at the manner in which Messrs. Godelfroy had carried out their contract. He went on to say that the Immigration Commission was satisfied that the conditions had been carried out. The Immigrants appeared to be of a quiet, orderly and respectable class of people likely to turn out good settlers and they appeared to have been satisfied with their reception and the arrangements made for their comfort. In addition to this opinion formed by the Governor, the Immigrants soon acquired a reputation in their locations for sobriety, industry and orderly habits.

DAYS OF TOIL, DISTRESS AND POVERTY

The Immigrants were now settled in their villages. Naturally they expected to receive their lands at an early date. They were to be disappointed, for some had to wait for ten month before they got theirs. The rations they had received after landing were stopped. All too rapidly what little means they possessed were used up. The seeds they had were consumed to still the gnawing pangs of hunger. The only solution was for the men to go out and seek work. At first the authorities frowned upon their leaving their locations. The Immigrants had arrived during the time of drought which had already distressed the Legionaries. There had been a total failure of harvests for two years and losses of stock were large. High prices had to be paid for seeds, such as potatoes, barley and oats, and for other necessities. It was also a time of mercantile depression and work was scarce. Many Immigrants however did find work in the Colony. Distance was no obstacle to them. Gotthard Bauer for example walked from Berlin to Grahamstown to look for work as a builder. The wages were very low, men getting two shillings a day and boys and girls six pence a day. People in the Colony preferred to employ unmarried men or even Natives, whose labour was cheaper than that of the Immigrants. It was now a case of no land and no work and even no means of cultivating the land. Soon Col. Maclean was overwhelmed by requests for rations from all parts of the Province. The Immigrants said that they could not get work, had no means to cultivate their land and without relief would starve. Col. Maclean ordered that rations again be issued for another three months. Later the period was extended for those who required help. In March 1859 some Immigrants were still receiving rations, which consisted of bread and meat. The cost of the rations was to be repaid, but afterwards payment was remitted altogether. Old residents of Berlin said that what saved them was the fact that they reaped bumper crops of

Trudelwagen (Block Wagon) made by Mr. F. Ziegenhagen of Berlin and now used by his family. The picture shows original German Immigrants riding in it at the German Immigrants' Jubilee in 1906 at King William's Town. The same wagon was used at the Berlin Centenary Festival. It appeared at Cape Town in 1953. In April, 1957, it was used at the German Immigrants' Centenary Celebrations in King William's Town on the 14th July, 1858

potatoes from their building lots in the village. Honey was used as sugar and roasted barley as coffee.

The pleas for help are interesting. Immigrants at Panmure said that they "never manage more than £1-feed their families" and "have confidence in Your Excellency's protecting aid," while those at Potsdam said that "they have not enough to eat nor even a penny to buy a piece of salt. All they can do is to eat their pound of bread and meat, break the ground and then let it stand for the want of seed or money." Those at Breidbach said that they knew that by receiving rations "comes in a larch debit". They promised "to pay to the right time our debts to the Government". Those at Braunschweig said that they had been promised great things, but were poorer here than they had been in Germany.

When the Immigrants arrived in South Africa, some Legionaries in King William's Town realised that they would need their help. They formed a committee consisting of Mr. F. Schermbrucker (later Col. F. Schermbrucker, M.L.A.), who donated £3, Sgt.-Maj. J. Hundertmark £1, Sgt.-Maj. C. George £1, Sgt. Mass £1, and Lieut. Julius. A total of £13 7 6 was raised. The townspeople of King William's Town also started a relief fund. A Turkish concert artist, All ben Sou Alle gave a concert in Cradock and raised £50 for the relief of the distressed immigrants.

The Immigrants soon showed that they were true sons of the soil. Men and women and children toiled on their lands from morning till night, and when the men were away at work, the women and children shouldered the burden alone. Nevertheless, there was always but little to give to those who had to be clothed and fed. In the fields the women wore their blue German print dresses. For want of other tools, the soil was cultivated with the hoe or the spade. Spades of hard wood made by the Immigrants are still in existence. Then, as they obtained them, one ox was inspanned. One-ox yokes are also still in existence. Goats, fowls and cows were gradually acquired. When the "King William's Town Gazette" reported that a German Immigrant was seen driving a small herd of goats through town, it was really an event to be noted, for the man was returning from the Colony, where he had been working, and the small flock of goats represented an economic advance for him. There were many others, who, like this man, acquired live-stock in return for their labour. Men carried their vegetables and other products to the market in King William's Town on their backs or pushed them there in homemade wooden wheelbarrows. Even the girls helped. The writer's mother, Luise Bauer, from Berlin, was one of four girls who had one pair of shoes among them. They took turns to carry butter and eggs to King William's Town in order to sell this produce to the wives of the officers of the British troops stationed there. The girl who went to town wore the shoes. The officers' wives were always nice to the young girls. Then came the rumbling "Trudelwagen" or block wagon. With wheels cut from the trunk of a tree, they were slow, but they always got to their destination. Prices on the market were very low, eggs sometimes fetching as little as one and a half pennies a dozen, and often a wagon load of produce brought in man Immigrants had to suffer poverty and hardship, but they had the power to endure and toil until better days came along. Like the "Trudelwagen" they also reached their destination.

How bravely the Immigrants faced their position is shown by the fact that they willingly paid £1 an acre for their land. The price was high for those days. As against this price, the officers of the Legion paid from 5/- to 17/6 an acre for their ground, the price varying according to the locality. Grantees got their

land for nothing on condition that they paid a small quitrent and performed certain military duties in the defence of the country. A report dated 1861 shows that 307 Grantees held 614,000 acres, 539 German Immigrants held 10,655 acres and 1,623 Legionaries held 8,244 acres. The Immigrants complained that they did not always get the full extent of the land to which they were entitled according to the Immigration Conditions. The area of their commonages was pointed out to them. At Braunschweig a portion of the commonage was sold, and at Berlin a portion was added to Tshabo location. While Braunschweig, after a determined struggle, regained their lost ground, Berlin did not.

PAYMENT OF DEBT DEFERRED

The Immigrants found it very hard to feed and clothe their families and also pay the instalments, which fell due all too rapidly, in reduction of the money they owed for their passages and lands. At the end of 1864 the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, issued a statement as follows: "Being unwilling to put any avoidable pressure upon a class of settlers, who proved themselves to be so orderly and industrious, (he) is pleased to offer them the following terms of payment: 1. Titles to lands to be issued at once by the Government. 2. Payment of debt to be postponed in respect of each instalment for the term of ten years from that instalment becoming due. 3. Interest at the rate of five per cent to be paid half-yearly for the term of ten years on each instalment." It was further provided that the debt and interest were to be secured by a bond. Any Immigrant who preferred the mode of payment provided for in his contract was at liberty to follow it. They had to notify their Magistrate as to which form of payment they preferred. This move by Governor Wodehouse gave the Immigrants a breathing chance.

In all they owed £20,485 for their passages and £10,695 for their land, making a total of £31,140. It was always a proud boast amongst the Immigrants that they discharged every single penny of their debt. Another justified claim was that insolvency was unknown amongst them. They were a sturdy, God-fearing people. The claim of the Immigrants that they had paid every penny of their debt is substantiated by W. L. and L. Rees in their "The Life and Times of Sir George Grey, K.C.B." The firm of Godeffroy and Son found that the bonds issued by Sir George Grey to cover the settlement of the German Immigrants in British Kaffraria were unsaleable because of the attitude taken up toward the immigration scheme by the British government. The firm approached Grey. He immediately realized that he would get no help from the Colonial Office and therefore he backed the claim by drawing upon his own private means. A bank in London, with which a relative of his was connected extended facilities to him which were utilized in time. Eventually the Immigrants paid all that was due from them and Sir George was not the loser.

THE WAR OF 1877-1878.

What had been feared all along now came at last. War threatened the beautiful acres of the former British Kaffraria, which had ceased to exist as a separate entity and had become a part of the Cape Colony in 1865. All the farmers on the small holdings gathered in their villages. Laagers were formed. In some places the people found shelter in their churches. The stock was placed into large enclosures at night, where it was guarded by the residents. During the day the stock was grazed under an armed guard. Nearly all the physically fit men volunteered for service. Some joined the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police. All prized very highly the war medals they got for their services in this and various other wars

in South Africa. The War of 1877-1878 did not affect the Province very much. Soon the people were able to visit their holdings during the day time. When the war was over, all gladly went back to resume their farming operations.

BETTER DAYS COME ALONG

When diamonds were discovered at Kimberley in 1867, a change came about in the economic life of the Cape Colony. The prices on the market rose. German mealies and potatoes called German Blues were common products. Potatoes, pumpkins, oats and green barley were the cash crops. Wheat could then be grown on the Border. People lived very largely on their own produce. Their wheat was ground into Boer meal. They had their own meat, butter, eggs, milk, vegetables, fruit and other farm products. In every garden there were oranges, grapes, quinces, peaches, apples, pears and figs. Not all of the Immigrants could make a success of their little farms. Most of those who found farm life too hard for them went to the towns, where they found employment in various trades and businesses, or even set up on their own as tradesmen, millers or traders. Many of those who remained on the soil, joined the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police for a while in order to augment their means. Others became builders, who periodically sought work in the towns when very remunerative work when the East London and Queenstown Railway was constructed in 1877. Berlin station and most of the bridges and culverts in the Knapdaar region were built by Immigrants. The money they earned was spent on their farms. The economic position of the Immigrants was on the upgrade. The fact that they raised large families on meagre means is something that must be admired.

The coming of the motor car and the disappearance of the horse-drawn carriage cut out the demand for oats and green barley on the market. The recurring stock diseases caused the Immigrants heavy losses. The Rinderpest of 1897 practically wiped out the cattle population of the Border. These adverse conditions caused a few more to leave their farms in search of a life elsewhere.

Fortunately for those who have made their homes there, adverse conditions in South Africa are always of a temporary nature. Hence it has been possible for the Immigrants and their descendants to remain on the land, gradually to improve their economic condition. As they acquired more means, they bought the holdings of those neighbours who had left or were leaving for other parts. In this manner, the land owned by different individuals increased in size. On the other hand the number of families living in each village was reduced in number. Many of the Immigrant names are now only memories, which are rapidly fading away. Again other Immigrants bought farms outside the German villages and started farming operations on an extensive scale. Today the descendants of the Immigrants and also of some of the Legionaries are in a position to improve their farms and their stock, build better houses, construct dams and sink boreholes, own motor cars, lorries and modern machinery. It cost toil, endurance, frugal living and thrift to improve their position. With the help of agricultural science, mixed farming, beet and dairy farming and wool and mutton production can be carried on successfully in what was British Kaffraria.

Those Immigrants who remained on their holdings were constituted of the material that makes for success. The greatest tribute that can be paid to them and their despendants is that they made a success of agriculture on small farms in an area, of which agricultural experts say today, that it is primarily a region for dairy farming, and that on an acreage larger than they had. The descendants of the Immigrants can in our day hold their own with their fellow South Africans

in farming, business, industry and public life. Their love for Queen Victoria is today echoed in their undivided love for South Africa.

SOURCES CONSULTED:

Government House Records; Colonial Office Records; British Kaffrarian Records; King William's Town Gazette; Germania; Wochenblatt feur die Militaercolonisten; Anglo-Germania; Deutscher Beobachter in Sued-Afrika; Spanuth, J.: Festschrift; Schnell, E. L. G.: For Men Must work; Von Oswiecinski, T. R.: Unter Englands Fahnen; Hook, D. B.; with Sword and Statute; Schmidt, Pretoria, W.: Deutsche Wanderung Nach Südafrika.

B. E. PAPE.

THE NAMES OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRANTS

These lists have been built up from the Nominal List of Immigrants as found in "For Men Must Work" by Dr. E. L. G. Schnell.

The spelling of the names is that used a hundred years ago. In some cases variations are given. "Deutsche Wanderung nach Suedafrika" by Werner Schmidt-Pretoria has been of great help in identifying the places of birth of the Immigrants. Valuable assistance was also rendered by the Rev. and Mrs. F. Serapins and the German Legation in Pretoria. The places of birth have wherever possible been located in their own provinces or states. When this was not possible and the wider geographic term Prussia is used, the reader may safely assume that generally either Pommerania or Uckermark comes into question, those provinces of Prussia lying to the north-east of Berlin.

"Festschrift zum fuenfzigjaehrigen Siedelungsjubilaeum der Deutschen in Kaffraria" by Pastor J. Spanuth has been followed in determining the more or less permanent place of settlement of each Immigrant family.

In every case the names of the Immigrant, his age, his trade or profession, the names of his wife, her age, the place of their birth or origin, the number of their children, and the place of their settlement are given.

B. E. PAPE.

CAESAR GODEFFROY

622 tons, left Hamburg on the 15th April, 1858, arrived at East London on the 7th July, 1858. Captain N. Stortenbecker; doctor, Rudolph Hafner. Total of 67 families or 298 souls. 18 children died on the journey.

Bartelt, Michael, 30, peasant, Dorothea, 37, Sallenthin, Pommerania, one, Braunschweig.
Bohnhorst, Heinrich, 42, peasant, Christiane, 34, Osterode, Hannover, two, Berlin.
Boje, Carl August, 34, instrument maker, Auguste, 37, Goettingen, Hannover, one, King William's Town.
Boje, Heinrich, 27, locksmith, Sophie, 24, Goettingen, Hannover, none, King William's Town.

Boje, Hermann, 29, tailor, Minna, 22, Goettingen, Hannover, one, King William's Town.
Born, Christian, 36, peasant, Johanne, 34, Brallenthin, Pommerania, two Braunschweig.
Brüske, Johann, 31, peasant, Louise, 30, Trampke, Pommerania, three, Keiskamma Hoek.
Busse, Wilhelm, 27, peasant, Caroline, 23, Augusthof, Pommerania, one, Braunschweig.
Felke, Peter, 31, tailor, Auguste, 22, Schweidnitz, Silesia, none, King William's Town.
Flügel, Gottfried, 40, peasant, Johanna, 42, Augusthof, Pommerania, three Braunschweig.
Gebhardt, Hermann, 32, mason, Christine 22, Arnswalde, Brandenburg, two, Peddie.
Gurr, Friedrich, 32, peasant, Christine, 26, Sahes, Pommerania, one, Braunschweig.
Hees, Johann, 36, farmer, Susanne 37, Rieth, Wuerttemberg, six, Breidbach.
Heidke (Heidtke), Christian, 38, peasant, Friederike, 25, Dohberphul, Pommerania, one, Frankfort.
Henning, Christian, 40, Farmer, Elizabeth, 44, Kruttlingen, Wuerttemberg, three, Hannover.
Herrmann, Gottlieb, 38, farmer, Barbara, 35, Eozweihingen, Wuerttemberg, one, Hannover.
Heyn (Hein), 31, peasant, Wilhelmine, 27, Lübtow, Pommerania, three, Braunschweig.
Howe, Christian, 35, peasant, Caroline, 33, Collin, Pommerania, two, Ohlson.
Heuber, Ph. Jacob, 50, farmer, Marie, 49, Enzweihingen, Wuerttemberg, four Hannover.
Jacoby, Friedrich, 29, peasant, Johanne, 25, Rumptow, Pommerania, none, Ohlsen.
Karshagen, Friedrich, 32, peasant, Caroline, 31, Schöneberg, Pommerania, one, Keiskamma Hoek.
Karshagen, Michael, 28, peasant, Friederike, 26, Suckow, Pommerania, one Keiskamma Hoek.
Klemp, Friedrich Wilhelm, 39, peasant, Hanne, 29, Arnswalde, Brandenburg, five, Ohlsen.
Koch, Heinrich, 29, peasant, Louise, 29, Osterode, Hannover, none, Braunschweig.
Koch, Johann Jakob, 29, peasant, Margaretha, 29, Erdhausen, Hesse, two, Frankfort.
Köhke, Michael, 45, peasant, Louise, 49, Schöneberg, Pommerania, seven, Keiskamma Hoek.
Köthe, Theodor, 42, peasant, Conradine, 42, Osterode, Hannover, two, Berlin.
Krause, David, 44, peasant, Johanne, 39, Dohherphul, Pommerania, three Braunschweig.
Krause, Karl Julius, 40, peasant, Dorothea, 36, Neu-Schönfeld, Pommerania, three, Braunschweig.
Krause, Peter Friedrich, 44, peasant, Charlotte, 38, Denkhaus, Uckermark, four, Frankfort.
Krüger (Krueger), Michael, 42, peasant, Anna Elise, 41, Suckow, Pommerania, none, Keiskamma Hoek.
Kühn (Kuehn), Carl Gottlieb, 40, peasant, Dorothea, 39, Schöneburg, Pommerania, two, Keiskamma Hoek.
Ladwig (Ladewig), Carl Wilhelm, 35, peasant, Caroline, 34, Neuwedel, Pommerania, three, Braunschweig.

Lenz, Christian, 33, peasant, Dorothea, 36, Falkenberg, Pommerania, three Braunschweig.

Löffler, Johann David, 32, peasant, Louise, 31, Vaihingen, Wuerttemberg, five. Marienthal.

Lück (Lueck), Michael Fried., 43, peasant, Regine, 44, Collin, Pommerania, four, Braunschweig.

Lück, Friedrich Wilhelm, 37, peasant, Auguste, 35, Blumberg, Pommerania, three, Braunschweig.

Mauer, Conrad, 43, farmer, Anna Katharina, 37, Trettenheim, Hesse, seven, Breidbach.

Milz, Friedrich Wilhelm, 41, peasant, Johanna, 43, Denkhaus, Uckermark, six, Berlin.

Nesmann (Nesemann) Wilhelm. 32, peasant, Wilhelmine, 28, Collin, Pommerania, two Cradock.

Pagel, Johann, 34, peasant, Louise, 41, Muscherin, Pommerania, eight, Berlin.

Pfizer (Pfitzer), Johann George. 44, farmer. Caroline, 44, Enzweihingen, Wuerttemberg, four, Breidbach.

Quade, Wilhelm, 36, peasant, Caroline. 34, Hölpe, Uckermark, two, Berlin.

Radü (Radue), Christian Friedrich, 34, mason, Charlotte, 33, Arnswalde, Brandenburg, three, Peddie.

Rehnisch, Friedrich, 37, carpenter. Auguste, 26, Sorau. Brandenburg, none, Frankfort.

Remus, Wilhelm, 37, peasant. Friederike, 29, Prillwitz, Pommerania, one. Braunschweig.

Rewitzky, Eduard Ferd., 38, peasant. Louise, 39. Collin, Pommerania, two Frankfort.

Ristow, Michael, 42, peasant, Dorothea, 37, Collin, Pommerania, three, Braunschweig.

Rothe, Johann, 42, blacksmith. Louise, 40, Sorau, Brandenburg, none, Cambridge.

Salzwedel, Julius Eduard. 24, peasant, Frederike, 19. Denkhaus, Uckermark, none, Berlin.

Schade, Johann, 38, peasant. Henriette, 33. Neu-Schulzendorf, Pommerania, two, Braunschweig.

Schenk, Wilhelm, 30, peasant. Wilhelmine, 27, Billerbeck, Hannover, three, Keiskamma Hoek.

Schmidt, Wilhelm, 27, peasant. Dorothea. 28, Suckow, Pommerania, none, Keiskamma Hoek.

Schreiber, Wilhelm, 34, peasant, Wilhelmine, 34, Schöneburg, Pommerania, two, Stutterheim.

Schröder, Christian, 38, peasant. Dorothea, 35, Arnswalde. Brandenburg, four Keiskamma Hoek.

Schröder, Johann Friedrich. 25, peasant, Wilhelmine, 35, Billerbeck, Hannover, three, Keiskamma Hoek.

Schwahn, Christian Ferd., 23, peasant. Wilhelmine, 29, Schöneburg, Pommerania. none. Keiskamma Hoek.

Siegert, Franz Wenzel, 40, tailor, Anna, 37, Brüx, Austria, one, Berlin.

Staudi (Staude), Fried. Wilhelm. 43, peasant, Dorothea, 44, Klein Lindenbusch, Pommerania, three, Frankfort.

Sternberg, Wilhelm. 38, peasant, Wilhelmine, 42, Schöneburg, Pommerania, four, Keiskamma Hoek.

Tesmer, Julius, 45, carpenter, Christine, 41. Dobberphul, Pommerania, two, Keiskamma Hoek.

Tessendorf, Michael, 31, peasant, Maria, 33, Blumberg, Pommerania, two, Braunschweig.

Völker, Ferdinand, 35, peasant. Regine. 25, Suckow, Pommerania, three, Braunschweig.

Vogt, Alexander. 35. glove maker, Christine, 42, Neusalz, Silesia, two King William's Town.

Wegner (Wegener), Gottlieb, 41, peasant, Charlotte, 43, Steinberg, Pommerania. six. Frankfort.

Wörpel (Woerpel), Michael, peasant. Ernstine, 27, Billerbeck, Hannover, one, Keiskamma Hoek.

LA ROCHELLE

1,090 tons, left Hamburg on the 31st May. 1852. arrived at East London on the 28th August, 1852. Captain Johannes Meyer, doctor, Wilhelm. Total of families 191 or 463 souls. There were 23 deaths during the voyage, including 6 daults.

Andree, Hermann, 40, died on journey, brickmaker, Friederike, 38, Wieshu, Pommerania, three, Berlin.

Bär (Baer), Gottlieb, 43, gardener, Louise, 36, Kay. Silesia. two Stutterheim.

Ballak Ballack), August, 30. peasant. Jänischwalde, Spreewald, two Breidbach.

Baum, Hermann, 36, gardener. Sebilla, 30, Poppelsdorf, Prussia, one, Cambridge.

Behm, Christian Fried., 30, died on journey, peasant, Wilhelmine, 29, Uchtenhagen, Pommerania, three, Berlin.

Bernhardt, Joh., Christian, 47, carpenter. Emilie, 32. Buckow, Brandenburg, five, Cape Town.

Bindemann, Heinrich, 33, peasant. Elise, 28, Connefeld, Hesse, one, Orange Free State.

Bindemann, Johann, 35, polisher, Elizabeth. 36, Connefeld, Hesse, one, Kwelegha.

Birkholz, Karl. 43, peasant, Dorothea, 44, Zadelow, Pommerania, five, Breidbach.

Bode, Wilhelm, 42, shoemaker, Elise, 43, Holle, Hannover, five, Germany.

Bordak (Bordack), August, 35, peasant, Marie, 38, Kay, Silesia, one, Breidbach.

Boy, Johann Georg, 34, peasant, Johanne, 31, Kay. Silesia, five, Breidbach.

Brandt, Georg, 31, wewer, Charlotte, 27, Strassburg, Uckermark, two, Stutterheim.

Brandt, Karl, 38, peasant, Jette, 28, Alt Lahuhn, Pommerania, five, Stutterheim.

Brüssow (Bruessow), Friedrich. 28, peasant, Marie, 30, Strasshurg, Uckermark, three, Berlin.

Butz, Wilhelm, 39, peasant, Mine. 35, Alt Dammerow, Pommerania, four, Frankfort.

Burmeister, Heinrich, 44, peasant, Dorothea, 40, Ahrenschulter, Hannover, one. Hannover.

Daubermann, Johannes. 43, peasant, Katharine. 41. Alsheim Swabia, eight, Stutterheim.

Dettmann, Johann, 41, peasant. Friederike, 32, Passow, Uckermark, two, Frankfort.

Düsterhöft, Christian, 41, peasant, Sophie. 31. Collin, Pommerania, two, Braunschweig.

Egelhof, Karl, 35, peasant, Christina, 31, Alsheim, Swabia, two Breidbach.

Engelmohr, Karl, 32, glazier, Elizabeth, 36, Madgeburg, Province Saxony, two, Cambridge.

Evers, Clemens, 49. peasant, Gertrud, 42, Volkmassen, Hesse, four, Ohlsen.

Forth, Mathes, peasant, Katharine, 47. Jänischwalde, Spreewald, four, Stutterheim.

Froböse (Froboes, Frohhus), Johann, 49, peasant, Elsebe, 50, Wattenbeck, Holstein, seven, Breidbach.

Fröhlich (Froehlich), 32, carpenter, Rosalie, Jechaberg, Schwarzburg, none, Ohlsen.
Grobe, Friedrich, 26, peasant, Mette, 26, Rendsburg, Holstein, none, East London.
Grunow, Ernst Wilhelm, 50, miller, Henriette, 44, Britzig, Uckermark, nine, Greytown.
Haasch, Franz Fried., 37, blacksmith, Friederike, 38, Pinnow, Pommerania, five, Breidbach.
Hailer, Vincenz, 32, farmer, Catherine, 28, Kochendorf, Wuerttemberg, two, Stutterheim.
Hannetzky, Wilhelm, died on the journey, 31, peasant, Johanne, 18, Kay, Silesia, none, Panmure.
Hartwig, Hermann, 31, peasant, Henriette, 30, Wiesbu, Pommerania, three, Potsda...
Hasenjäger, August, 49, gardener, Johanne, 48, Sudheim, Hannover, five, Stutterheim.
Hofert, Friedrich, 43, peasant, Caroline, 35, Spiegelberg, Uckermark, one, Hannover.
Hocke, Adolph, 30, carpenter, Pauline, 29, Neusalz, Silesia, none, Panmure.
Keth, Joseph, 48, shoemaker, Catherina, 49, Alsheim, Swabia, six, Breidbach.
Klocke, Joh. Gottlob, 50, died on journey, gardener, Anna Louise, 45, Kay, Silesia, seven, Braunschweig.
Knobel, Christoph, 42, teacher, Julia, 26, Rothenburg, Bavaria, two, King William's Town.
Kockjoy, Joh. Gottlieb, 50, died on jojurney, peasant, Anna, 50, Glogsen, Silesia, three, Breidbach.
Kraetschmer, Johann Gottlieb, 38, peasant, Anna, 37, Glogsen, Silesia, one, Breidbach.
Lamak (Lamack), Gottlieb, tailor, Christiane, 40, Maust, Spreewald, four, Potsdam.
Lange, Carl Heinrich, 34, peasant, Auguste, 29, Neu-Bork, Pommerania, one, Berlin.
Langhein, Carsten, 48, stone cutter, Catharina, 41, Duvenstedt, Holstein, five, Frankfort.
Leyh (Leib), Heinrich, 40, peasant, Elisabethe, 40, Schlierbach, Hesse, three, Panmure.
Loppenow (Lupnow), Carl, 26, peasant, Wilhelmine, 24, Wiesbu, Pommerania, one, Potsdam.
Lutzke, Leopold, 38, peasant, Ernestine, 33, Rübenhagen, Pommerania, six, Braunschweig.
Meissner, Johann, 28, peasant, no wife, Glogsen, Silesia, none, went to India with the British German Legion.
Müller, Christian, 49, peasant, Louise, 36, Kitzerow, Pommerania, three, Hannover.
Müller, Franz, 49, peasant, Marianna, 49, Altheim, Baden, six, Ohlsen.
Nagel, Johann, 28, shoemaker, Sophie, 22, Bernhausen, Wuerttemberg, none, Panmure.
Niepage, Heinrich, 33, peasant, Johanne, 26, Guben, Brandenburg, none, Cape Town.
Ninnemann, Daniel, 46, peasant, Dorothee, 43, Alt Dammerow, Pommerania, six, Berlin.
Otte, Friedrich, 36, peasant, Henriette, 36, Wismar, Uckermark, three, Berlin.
Pape, August, 42, peasant, Caroline, 42, Alt-Labuhn, Pommerania, five, Berlin.
Papendorf, Wilhelm, 35, peasant, Louise, 34, Alt-Dammerow, Pommerania, three Frankfort.
Pautz, Karl, 43, peasant, Sophie, 38, Wiesbu, Pommerania, seven, Braunschweig.
Pfeiffer, Joh. Gottfried, 22, peasant, Johanne, 25, Lochow, Holstein, none, Breidbach.
Pietschke, Gottlieb, 40, tailor, Anna, 41, Pronzendorf, Uckermark, three, Cambridge.

Raasch, Wilhelm, 33, peasant, Louise, 33, Alt-Dammerow, Pommerania, four, Frankfort.
Rausch, Gottlieb, 33, peasant, Justine, 29, Zollen, Pommerania, one, Potsdam.
Rehfeld (Refeld), Heinrich, 46, died on journey, peasant, Christine, 41, Strassburg, Uckermark, four, Breidbach.
Rehse, Johann August, 33, peasant, Tine, 35, Neu-Dammerow, Pommerania, one, Frankfort.
Richter, Nikolaus, 38, peasant, Marie, 37, Motzerode, Hesse, three, Potsdam.
Ross, Friedrich, 30, locksmith, no wife, Teichhof, Brandenburg, two Ohlsen.
Ruthenberg, Wilhelm, 29, peasant, Caroline, 29, Spiegelberg, Uckermark, two, Hannover.
Scherer (Scheerer), Adam, 38, peasant, Anna, 38, Alsheim, Swabia, four, Breidbach.
Schepel, Martin, 42, peasant, Catharine, 31, Jänischwalde, Spreewald, three, Stutterheim.
Schoenknecht, Joh. Georg, 41, peasant, Anna, 41, Kay, Silesia, five, Breidbach.
Schreiber, Johann, 44, peasant, Eva, 40, Heddesheim, Baden, six, Stutterheim.
Schröder, Michael, 43, peasant, Friederike, 43, Zadelow, Pommerania, two, Frankfort.
Schröder, August, 31, weaver, Elise, 26, Gnevekow, Pommerania, three, Berlin.
Schubach, Georg, 30, glazier, Elisabeth, 35, Heddesheim, Baden, four, Breidbach.
Schult, Johann Heinrich, 48, peasant, Catharine, 44, Carrenzien, Hannover, eight, Breidbach.
Schulz, Christian, 33, peasant, Marie, 31, Zadelow, Pommern, two, Breidbach.
Schwarz, Johann Aug., 35, peasant, Henriette, 29, Giogren, Silesia, two, Potsdam.
Sell, Johann, 42, peasant, Doris, 39, Brunswick, Holstein, six, Breidbach.
Sergel, August, 44, peasant, Marie, 38, Lewe, Hannover, seven, Hannover.
Sievert, Joh. August, 40, peasant, Wilhelmine, 29, Goettingen, Hannover, wo, Stutterheim.
Starke, Gustav, 24, peasant, Hanne, 25, Sassenberg, Pommerania, one, Berlin.
Stumke (Stuemke), Johann Christ., 53, peasant, Marie, 48, Schulzendorf, Brandenburg, four, Cape Town.
Thiele, Johann Gottlieb, 39, peasant, Johanne, 32, Kay, Silesia, two, Breidbach.
Thies, Ludwig, 40, peasant, Friederike, 45, Dorste, Hannover, four, Potsdam.
Venski, Alexander, 45, peasant, Wilhelmine, 35, Alt-Labuhn, Pommerania, four, Stutterheim.
Vogt, Ferdinand, 44, shepherd, Margaretha, 44, Weiler, Wuerttemberg, five, Stutterheim.
Warnecke, Wilhelm, 37, weaver, Christine, 38, Lutter am Berge, Brunswick, four, Hannover.
Weber, Johann, 48, peasant, Eochilene, 41, Alsheim, Swabia, five, Stutterheim.
Westphal, Ernst, 36, blacksmith, Friederike, 33, Wolkwitz, Uckermark, none, Hannover.
Wichmann, Fr. August, 40, peasant, Wilhelmine, 39, Uchtenhagen, Pommerania, five, Hannover.
Zietzke, Christian, 34, peasant, Louise, 33, Doelitz, Pommerania, three, Braunschweig.
Zuch, Gottlieb, 27, baker, Anna, 29, Kay, Silesia, none, East London.
Zühlsdorf, Friedrich, 47, peasant, Dorothee, 47, Zadelow, Pommerania, one, Breidbach.

WANDRAHM

584 tons, left Hamburg on the 31st August, 1858, arrived at East London on the 6th December, 1858. Captain H. Decker; doctor, Fr. August Hanf. Total of 74 families or 344 souls. Ten children and one adult died on the voyage.

Appel, Christian, 36, peasant, Charlotte, 35. Closterwalde. Uckermark, three Wooldridge.

Appel, Wilhelm, 28, peasant, Wilhelmine, 27, Closterwalde. Uckermark, one, Wooldridge.

Bauer, Gotthardt, 40, mason, Therese, 30, Herbsleben, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, three, Berlin.

Bauer, Heinrich, 28, peasant, Christine, 29, Herbsleben, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, none, Stutterheim.

Berlin, Gottlieb, 36, peasant, Christine, 30, Schapow, Uckermark, two Wooldridge.

Bock, Wilhelm, 36, saddler, Maria, 36, Liebenburg, Hannover, four King William's Town.

Bogula, Wilhelm, 20, peasant, Ernstine, 28, Cottbus, Brandenburg, none, King William's Town.

Brannaschk, Gottlob, 41, peasant, Christiane, 32, Cottbus, Brandenburg, one, Hamburg.

Büchner, Heinrich, 38, peasant, Dorothea, 32, Herbsleben, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, three, Berlin.

Dobrowsky, Wilhelm, 37, peasant, Mine, 27, Caatz, Prussia, two, Bell.

Dürring, Carl, 25, peasant, Charlotte, 26, Schapow, Uckermark, two, Wooldridge.

Eberhardt, Christian, 36, peasant, Elise, 32, Brunswick, one, Bodiam.

Eichhorn, Daniel, 49, carpenter, Dorothea, 47, Heldburg, Saxe-Meinigen, five, East London.

Elmer, Georg, 50, peasant, Johanne, 40, Lichte, Schwarzburg-Rudoldstadt, three, Panmure.

Emmerich, Martin, 49, peasant, Wilhelmine, Florstadt, Hesse, three, Stutterheim.

Griesfelder, L., 28, peasant, Suzanna, 27, Mosbach, Nassau, one, King William's Town.

Gudmainz (Gudmanz), Martin, 37, peasant, Maria, 35, Werben, Spreewald, six, Stutterheim.

Hansel, Albin, 27, peasant, Anna, 25, Silow, Spreewald, one, Stutterheim.

Heide, Andreas, 30, miner, Elise, 30, Müncheberg, Brandenburg, none, King William's Town.

Heinz, Carl, 30, peasant, Martha, 21, Herhslehen, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, none, Berlin.

Hailing, Carl, 40, peasant, Hanne, 44, Parmen, Uckermark, two, Wooldridge.

Horn, Carl, 28, peasant, Friederike, Weggun Uckermark, one, Wooldridge.

Horrmann, Ludwig, 45, peasant, Henriette, 48, Riddagshausen, Brunswick, three, Balassi.

Kaschula, Mathes, 50, peasant, Anne, 40, Werben, Spreewald, five, Frankfort.

Kobus, Mathes, 37, died on the journey, Liese, 34. Werben, Spreswald, five Stutterheim.

Koch, Christoph, 39, peasant, Martha, 38, Herhslehen, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, five, Breidbach.

Koch, Mathias, 37, hasket maker Friederike, 29, Berlin, five, Cape Town.

Kockott, Christian, 39, peasant, Christiane, 39, Werben, Spreewald, six, Frankfort.

Krause, Wilhelm, 45, tailor, Wilhelmine, 39, Schapow, Uckermark, three, Wooldridge.

Krull, Friedrich, peasant, Marie, 39, Weggun, Uckermark, four, Wooldridge.

Ladewig, Wilhelm, 27, peasant, Friederike, 25, Weggun, Uckermark, one, Wooldridge.

Loest, Heinrich, 32, peasant, Anna, 33, Cottbus, Brandenburg, three, Alice.

Lösche, Gustav, 24, miller, Louise, 28, Gross-Gaglow, Brandenburg, two, Ladyhrand.

Lütge, Wilhelm, 34, peasant, Dorothea, Herrhausen, Brunswick, three, Bodiam.

Markus, Carl, mason, Friederike, 31, Cottbus, Brandenburg, four, Keiskamma Hoek.

Mattack, Martin, 50, peasant, Liese, 46, Werhen, Spreewald, five, Mariesthal.

Meggersee, Detlef, 39, saddler, Margarethe, 32, Breckendorf, Denmark, two, Panmure.

Meier, Christian, 50, peasant, Justine, 43, Weggun, Uckermark, seven, Wooldridge.

Müller, Christian, 30, peasant, Wilhelmine, 33, Herbsleben, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, two, Berlin.

Möller, Wilhelm. 29, peasant, Sophie, 28, Rittgarten, Uckermark, none, Wooldridge.

Möller, Wilhelm. 33, peasant, Martha, 32, Herbsleben, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, two. Berlin.

Müller, Friedrich, 35, weaver, Auguste, 35, Bernau, Brandenburg, two, Berlin.

Neumann, Martin, 43, peasant, Catharine, 41, Niedermoerlen,, Hesse, five, Stutterheim.

Noach (Noack), Johann, 50, peasant, Anne, 49, Werben, Spreewald, three, Stutterheim.

Paschke, Martin, 27, peasant, Maria, 27, Silow, Spreewald, one, Frankfort.

Peters, Theodor, 37, peasant, Minna, 38, Brunswick, three, Stutterheim.

Pfau, Gustav, 28, peasant, Auguste, 26, Bernau, Brandenburg, one, King William's Town.

Plater, Christian, 35, peasant, Marie, 34, Werben, Spreewald, three, Frankfort.

Piweiel, Heinrich, 31, peasant, Henriette, 24, Karge. West Prussia, none, King William's Town.

Promnitz, Friedrich, 34, shoemaker, Louise, 30, Bomst, Posen, one, Balassi.

Querl, Carl, 28, peasant, Martha, 29, Herbsleben, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, two, Berlin.

Robert (Roebert), Cr. Fried, 35, shepherd, Friederike, 35, Gross-Holzendorf. Uckermark, four, Wooldridge.

Russ, Christian, 45, peasant, Charlotte, 42. Parmen, Uckermark, one, Wooldridge.

Sangerhaus, Bernhard, 38, peasant, Elisabeth, 42, Herhsleben, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. three, Potsdam.

Sangerhaus, Ernst, peasant, 42, Dorothea, 41, Herhsleben, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. one Potsdam.

Schemel, Mathes, 29, peasant. Elizabeth, 30, Silow, Spreewald, two, Stutterheim.

Schentker, Friedrich, peasant, 45, Louise, 37, Cottbus, Brandenburg, four, Camhridge.

Schischki, Christian, peasant, 42, Marie, 28, Werhen, Spreewald, five, Frankfort.

Schlodder, Mathes, 33, peasant, Anne, 33, Werben, Spreewald, three, Stutterheim.

Schmidt, August, 30, turner, Bertha, 33, Bernau, Brandenburg, five, Balassi.

Schmidt, Michael, 30, surgeon or barber, Rosalie, 35, Lessen, West Prussia. two, Bodiam.

Schneider, Friedrich, Wilhelm, 43, weaver, Henriette, 37, Bernau near Berlin, one, Wooldridge.

Schröder, Heinrich. 27, shoemaker, Friederike, 28, Parmen, Uckermark, none, Wooldridge.

Sponholz, Carl, 33, peasant, Wilhelmine, 33, Fahrenwalde, Uckermark, four, Gramanstown.

Szukala, Zduard, 36, peasant, Constantia, 34, Bomst, West Prussia, three, Hamburg.

Trautmann, Gottlieb, 39, peasant, Marie, 37, Herhslehen, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. five, Berlin.

Vockerodt. Friedrich, 29, peasant, Christiane, 23, Hersleben, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, one, Stutterheim.
Vockerodt, Johann Tobias, 50, peasant, Dorothea, 50, Hersleben, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, one, Stutterheim.
Weimann, August, 36, peasant, Juliane, 30, Bomst, Posen, three, Hamburg.
Weisz, Gottfried, 43, peasant, Johanne, 39, Bomst, Posen, seven, Marienthal.
Wicke, Theodor, 39, peasant, Rosalie, 34, Wistrow, Hannover, three, Stutterheim.
Woyciechowski, Anton, 33, peasant, Mathilde, 25, Alt-Kloster, Posen, none, Hamburg.
Ziehl, Carl Wilhelm, 33, locksmith, Dorothea, 36, Lessen, West Prussia, one, Pammern.
Zimmerman, Johann, 36, peasant, Catharine, 33, Kesselhach. Nassau, five, King William's Town.
Chomse. August Ed., 41, teacher, Wilhelmine, 41, Sobotta, Prussia. eight. place of settlement unknown.

WILHELMSBURG

1,000 tons, left Hamburg the 19th October, 1656, arrived at East London on the 13th January, 1659, Captain C. H. Müller; doctor, Carl Paul. Total of families 121 or 563 souls. 64 Children and one woman died on the voyage.

Ahlschläger, Johann, peasant, Friederike, 42, Wilhelmshain, Uckermark, three, Berlin.
Albrecht, Ferdinand, 20, blacksmith, Wilhelmine, 31, Friedrichsfelde, Uckermark. one. Braunschweig.
Appel, Johann, 37, peasant, Wilhelmine, 33, Crewitz, Uckermark, three, Cambridge.
Bade, Carl, 32, peasant, Helene, 31, Wichmannsdorf, Uckermark, none, East London.
Becker, Theodor. 46. gardener, Johanne, 48, Warsin, Pommerania, seven, Braunschweig.
Beckmann, David, 44. peasant, Marie, 36, Barnims-Cunow. Pommerania, three, Braunschweig.
Berndt, Friedrich, 44, brickmaker, Sophie, 38, Friedrichsfelde, Brandenburg, two Frankfort.
Berndt, Gottfried, 45, peasant, Louise, 34, Lützlow, Uckermark, two, Potsdam.
Blank, Johann, 44, peasant, Friederike, 43, Grauenhagen, Mecklenburg, four, Potsdam.
Blumreich (Blumrick), August, 31. shoemaker, caroline, 30, Wollin, Pommerania, three, King William's Town.
Böttger (Boettcher), Friedrich, 37, Auguste, 35, Warsin, Pommerania, six, Braunschweig.
Brackrow, Wilhelm, 36, weaver, Wilhelmine, 36, Gross-Schönebeck, Uckermark. one, Hannover.
Braun, Ludwig, 49, peasant, Friederike, 44, Naugarten, Uckermark, four, Frankfort.
Bunge, Friedrich. 36, carpenter, Hanne, 36, Gramzow, Uckermark, two, Stutterheim.
Bürger, Friedrich, 46, baker, Sophie, 42, Daher, Pommerania, five, Frankfort.
Buss, Carl, 25, peasant, Wilhermine, 28, Klein-Benz. Pommerania, none, Frankfort.
Butte (Butt), Friedrich, 37, peasant, Dorothea, 36, Warsin, Pommerania. four Braunschweig.
Büttner, Julius, 38, peasant, Louise, 38, Türkshof, Prussia, none, Stutterheim.
Deutschmann, August, 26, mason, Auguste, 27, Gramzow, Uckermark, two, Berlin.
Devantier, Friedrich, 34, tailor, Pauline, 34, Zerrenthin, Uckermark, none, Berlin.
Ditthorner, Friedrich, 47, peasant, Caroline, 32, Klein-Leistikow, Pommerania, two, Frankfort.

Durow, Carl, 42, shepherd, Weihelmine, Schmiechtenhagen. Brandenburg. three, Braunschweig.
Dürrheim, Johann, 30, carpenter. Christine, Grimm, Uckermark, seven, Berlin.
Dürrheim, Johann, 32, Wilhelmine, 27, Grimm, Uckermark, two, Berlin.
Falkenberg, Christian, mason, 34, peasant. Dorothea, 24. Gollmitz, Uckermark. one. Stutterheim.
Fibiger, Wilhelm, 29, locksmith. Johanne. 24, Gramzow, Uckermark, one, Breidbach.
Fietze, Wilhelm, 33, peasant, Louise, 34, Krümersborn, Brandenburg, none, Braunschweig.
Fischer, Christian. 26. peasant. Weihelmine, 26. Meichow, Uckermark. none. Stutterheim.
Flieth, Gottfried, 43. peasant. Louise, 44, Meichow. Uckermark, two, Frankfort.
Freitag, Wilhelm. 41. peasant. Henriette. 29. Pammin, Pommerania, three, Berlin.
Garz, Johann, 47. peasant. Christine. 44. Sternhagen, Uckermark, four, Braunschweig.
Gierke, Friedrich. 43. peasant, Wilhelmine, 30, Schmölln, Uckermark, two. Potsdam.
Giese, Wilhelm, 27. peasant, Henriette, 30, Vehlingsdorf, Pommerania, two Stutterheim.
Gombert, Wilhelm, 26, peasant. Justina. 29, Eickstedt, Province Saxony. two. Potsdam.
Grunewald. August. 25. turner. Wilhelmine. 29. Lützlow. Uckermark, none, Stutterheim.
Hamann, Wilhelm. 39, peasant, Wilhelmine. 39, Funkenhagen. Pommerania. six. Keiskamma Hoek.
Hempel, Christian, 37, peasant, Wilhelmine, 39. Warthe. Uckermark, four, Braunschweig.
Herse, Christian, 41, peasant. Louise, 36, Fiddichow, Pommerania, one, Braunschweig.
Heuer, Johann, 35, carpenter, Wilhelmine. 31. Bergholz, Uckermark, four, Stutterheim.
Höft, Friedrich. 25, peasant. Ernstine, 17, Warsin. Pommerania, none, Braunschweig.
Hoppe, Fritz, 34, painter, Minna, 36, Brunswick, none, Germany.
Jacobitz, Gottfried, 46. peasant, Anna. 50, Turnow, Brandenburg, three, Frankfort.
Jäger, Christoph, 48, peasant, Johanne, 37, Wollin, Pommerania, one, Potsdam.
Kath, Michael, 46, peasant, Sohpie, 42. Mulkenthin, Pommerania, four, settlement unknown.
Kietzmann, Carl, 39, carpenter, Dorothea, 40, Warthe, Uckermark, two, Braunschweig.
Klette, Julius, 34. shoemaker, Charlotte. 33, Gramzow, Uckermark, three Potsdam.
Klockow, Daniel, 43, Peasant, Wilhelmine, 40, Funkenhagen, Pommerania, four. Braunschweig.
Koch, Carl, 38, brickmaker, Wilhelmine, 27, Strasshurg, Uckermark, two, Germany.
Krantz, Carl, 42, peasant, Wilhelmine, 44. Werbelow, Prussia, five, Braunschweig.
Kriedemann, Wilhelm, 29, peasant, Wilhelmine. 27, Wollin, Pommerania, none, Potsdam.
Kringel, Peter, 41, peasant, Sophie, 39, Warnitz, Pommerania, six, Braunschweig.
Krüger, Gottfried, 49, turner, Dorothea. 43, Lützlow, Uckermark, four, Camhridge.
Kruger, Wilhelm. 34, peasant, Wilhelmine, 34, Warnitz, Pommerania, one, Braunschweig.

Kühl, Christian, 33, peasant, Wilhelmine, 37, Hansfelde, Pommerania, two, Hannover.
Kukard, Johann, 40, peasant, Christine, 43, Warsin, Pommerania, five, Braunschweig.
Kumm, Wilhelm, 36, peasant, Friederike, 39, Freyenwalde, Pommerania, six, Stutterheim.
Küter, Christian, 43, peasant, Wilhelmine, 42, Gramzow, Uckermark, four, Potsdam.
Küter, Martin, 41, peasant, Friederike, 36, Augustfelde, Uckermark, five, Hannover.
Lahts (Lahtz), Johann, 34, peasant, Friederike, 34, Strassburg, Uckermark, one. Natal.
Lance, Wilhelm, 30, peasant, Wilhelmine, 32, Brüssow, Uckermark, three, Stutterheim.
Lehmann, Carl, 38, peasant, Caroline, 28, Krackow, Pommerania, one, Panmure.
Lehmann, Johann, 45, peasant, Charlotte, 40, Wendorf, Mecklenbourg, four. Hannover.
Lienow (Linnow), Friedrich, peasant, Caroline, 32, Gramzow, Uckermark, three, Potsdam.
Liesenberg, Johann, 32, peasant, Charlotte, 30, Werbelow, Prussia, three. Braunschweig.
Lipke, Carl, 38, peasant, Marie, 36, Lützlow, Uckermark, two, Potsdam.
Lorenz, Martin, 38, peasant, Wilhelmine, 29, Gramzow, Uckermark, one, Wiesbaden.
Lüpke, Friedrich, 48, peasant, Marie, 44, Mulkenthin, Pommern, six, Stutterheim.
Maaske (Maske), Gottfried, 36, peasant, Christine, 34, Barnims-Cunow, Pommerania, three, Braunschweig.
Mai, Martin, 42, peasant, Wilhelmine, 39, Lützlow, Uckermark, three, Stutterheim.
Mante, Carl, 29, peasant, Justine, 29, Gramzow, Uckermark, two , Stutterheim.
Matz, Christian, 42, tiler, Christine, 40, Gramzow, Uckermark, four, Transkei.
Meinke (Meineke), Karl, 28, peasant, Caroline, 29, Wollin, Pommerania, one, Stutterheim.
Meyer, Christian, 45, peasant, Friederike, 42, Bergholz, Uckermark, four, Stutterheim.
Moldenhauer, Eduard, 31, wagon maker, Auguste, 36, Klein- Küssow, Pommerania, two, Berlin.
Müller, August, 39, carpenter, Caroline, 38, Meichow, Uckermark, four, Stutterheim.
Ninow, Carl, 34, gardener, Louise, 36, Schlolssin, Pommerania, five, King William's Town.
Päper, Friedrich, 41, peasant, Marie, 48, Sternhagen, Uckermark, four, Braunschweig.
Peter, Carl, 31, peasant, Marie, 33, Barnims-Cunow, Pommerania, three, Braunschweig .
Pohlmann, Christian, 36, peasant, Christine, 35, Ploenzig, Pommerania, one, Braunschweig.
Prüfer, Wilhelm, 33, weaver, Wilhelmine, 34, Strassburg, Uckermark, one, Cambridge.
Radloff, Carl, 30, peasant, Wilhelmine, 32, Penkun, Pommerania, four, Braunschweig.
Richter, Fried, 49, peasant, Friederike, 40, Crewitz, Prussia, four, no place of settlement.
Richter, Wilhelm, 25, shoemaker, Louise, 23, Turnow, Brandenburg, none, Berlin.
Riebow, Friedrich, 37, peasant, Wilhelmine, 29, Wollin, Pommerania, one, Stutterheim.
Roeder, August, 38, peasant, Wilhelmine, 35, Wollin, Pommerania, one, unknown.
Rohrbeck, Carl, 35, peasant, Wilhelmine, 35, Saltnow, Pommerania, five, Stutterheim.
Rowert, Christian, 34, peasant, Christine, 30, Wollin, Pommerania, one, America.
Sahrow, Christian, 29, peasant, Dorothea, 37, Wollin, Pommerania, two, Stutterheim.

Schäfer (Schaefer), Wilhelm, 32, miller, Wilhelmine, Louisenhof, Silesia, none. Frankfort.
Schmidt, Adolph, 36, carpenter, Christine, 39, Zurrenthin, Uckermark, three, Berlin.
Schoof, Johann, 32, peasant, Christine, 37, Prenzlau, Uckermark, one, Potsdam.
Schröder, Christian, 32, shoemaker, Caroline, 28, Parmen, Uckermark, none, Braunschweig.
Schultz (Schulz), Martin, 36, peasant, Justine, 53, Meichow, Uckermark, four. Transkei.
Schultz (Schulz), Wilhelm, 36, mason, Albertine, 38, Strassburg, Uckermark, four. Berlin.
Schultz, Wilhelm, 47, peasant, Dorothea, 42, Woddow, Uckermark, seven, Potsdam.
Schultz, Wilhelm, 27, peasant, Friederike, 25, Closterwalde, Uckermark, none, Berlin.
Schulz, Johann, 34, peasant, Wilhelmine, 29, Grimm, Uckermark, two, Berlin.
Schulz, Wilhelm, 40, chimney sweep, Caroline, 40, Neuromysl, Prussia, five, Braunschweig.
Schwarz, Carl, 29, mason, Wilhelmine, 40, Maldewin, Pommerania, five, Frankfort.
Schwulst, Friedrich, 35, peasant, Wilhelmine, 44, Funkenhagen, Pommerania, three. Stutterheim.
Spanz, Christian, 39, peasant, Wilhelmine, 41, Gramzow, Uckermark, two, Frankfort.
Spann, Gottfried, 36, peasant, Justine, 41, Gramzow, Uckermark, two, Frankfort.
Sprenger, Wilhelm, 36, tailor, Marie, 34, Lützlow, Uckermark, two, Potsdam.
Sprenger, Wilhelm, 38, peasant, Sophie, 37, Schwaneberg, Province Saxony, five, Panmure.
Staats, Johann, 41, shoemaker, Hanne, 43, Lützlow, uckermark, five Panmure.
Stefffen, Wilhelm, 31, carpenter, Christine, 28, Louisenhof, Silesia, five, Panmure.
Steinhöfel, Gottfried, 42, shepherd, Justine, 36, Wollin, Pommerania, two, Stutterheim.
Sternhagen, Johann, 42, peasant, Marie, 49, Alexanderhof, Uckermark, two, Braunschweig.
Strassburg, Friedrich, peasant, Marie, 40, Wollin, Pommerania, four. Potsdam.
Thiele, Carl, 31, peasant, Louise, 32, Lützlow, Uckermark, three Potsdam.
Thom, Friedrich, 46, peasant, Charlotte, 47, Klein-Benz, Pommerania, two, Frankfort.
Thrams, Carl, 31, peasant, Wilhelmine, 26, Sternhagen, Uckermark, two Braunschweig.
Tiedt, Christian, 44, peasant, Wilhelmine, 26, Gollmitz, Uckermark, one, Stutteirheim.
Trettin, Carl, 41, peasant, Friederike, 31, Naugarten, Uckermark, one, no place of settlement.
Völker, Ephraim, 37, peasant, Wilhelmine, Werbelow, Uckermark, four, Braunschweig.
Wegener, Gottfried, 40, peasant, Marie, 40, Wollin, Pommerania, five, Potsdam.
Weyer, Christian, 34, peasant, Marie, 32, Wollin, Pommerania, one, Potsdam.
Weyer, Martin, 24, peasant, Wilhelmine, 33, Wollin, Pommerania, none, Potsdam.
Zehmke, Albert, 39, mill erector, Wilhelmine, 37, Meichow, Uckermark, two, Stutterheim.
Ziegenhagen, Gottlieb, 40, peasant, Louise, 33, Klein-Küssow, Pommerania, three, Berlin.
Zietlow, Johann, 36, peasant, Charlotte, 37, Schlossin, Pommerania, one, Frankfort.

PETER GODEFROY

350 tons, left Hamburg on the 30th September, 1858, arrived at East London on the 19th January, 1859. Captain J. Jobannsen; doctor C. Bedig. Total of 54 families or 275 souls. Five children died on the journey.

Arndt, Wilhelm, 36, peasant, Christine, 32, Gross-Baudiss, Silesia, two, Panmure.
Balzer, Gottfried, 44, peasant, Sophie, 45, Arendsee, Altmark, four, Cambridge.
Behnke (Benecke), Wilhelm, 37, peasant, Dorothea, 34, Dammerow, Pommerania, three, Frankfurt.
Behrendt, Michael, 46, peasant, Caroline, 48, Schenkenberg, Province Saxony, two Berlin.
Bentz, Hans, 35, peasant, Marie, 30, Schönfeld, Brandenburg, two, Keiskamma Hoek.
Blessow, Friedrich, 50, peasant, Wilhelmine, 47, Arendsee, Altmark, six, Cambridge.
Burmeister (Burmester), Friedrich, 34, peasant, Maria, 27, Warbende, Mecklenburg, one, Keiskamma Hoek.
Burmeister, Gottlieb, 40, Louise, 35, Kitzerow, Pommerania, six, Frankfort.
Ehlert, Carl, 33, wagon maker, Caroline, 32, Bröllin, Pommerania, three, Stutterheim.
Ehrke, Johann, 36, peasant, Friederike, 38, Augustfelde, Uckermark, four, Keiskamma Hoek.
Faber, Wilhelm, 46, shoemaker, Caroline, 46, Pyritz, Pommerania, four, Keiskamma Hoek.
Freyer, Ferdinand, 34, Friederike, 32, Parmen, Uckermark, four, Bodiam.
Gau, Carl, 30, peasant, Wilhelmine, 27, Arendsee, Altmark, two, Cambridge.
Gau, Carl, 41, peasant, Caroline, 41, Dammerow, Pommerania, four, Panmure.
Götsch, Friedrich, 35, shepherd, Wilhelmine, 38, Dammerow, Pommerania, three, Frankfort.
Gruspentin, Friedrich, 36, peasant, Henriette, 30, Dammerow, Pommerania, one, Breidbach.
Grosskopf, Friedrich, 29, peasant, Cecilie, 29, Wallmow, Prussia, one, Panmure.
Hagemann, Friedrich, 33, peasant, Caroline, 31, Kutzerow, Brandenburg, three, Keiskamma Hoek.
Hahn, Wilhelm, 34, peasant, Wilhelmine, 30, Klockow, Uckermark, four, Panmure.
Hapelt, Wilhelm, 25, peasant, Christiane, 36, Klein-Baudiss, Silesia, two, Keiskamma Hoek.
Hildebrand, Gottlieb, 50, peasant, Wilhelmine, 48, Arendsee, Altmark, four, Stutterheim.
Horfelt, Franz, 49, peasant, Theresia, 41, Volkmarsen, Hesse, four, Keiskamma Hoek.
Hümpel, Johann, 38, peasant, Sophie, 29, Warbende, Mecklenburg, three, Keiskamma Hoek.
Kietzmann, Carl, 37, peasant, Caroline, 36, Kutzerow, Brandenburg, two, Keiskamma Hoek.
Kirchhoff, Wilhelm, 28, peasant, Charlotte, 27, Kleckow, Uckermark, two, Panmure.
Kramann, Ludwig, 40, peasant, Charlotte, 42, Vorheide, Mecklenburg, four, Keiskamma Hoek.
Knickelbein, Friedrich, 38, saddler, Friedericke, 37, Zernikow, Uckermark, five Berlin.
Kreusch, Friedrich, 32, peasant, Caroline, 34, Dammerow, Pommerania, four, Panmure.
Kulow, Ernst, 40, mason, Christine, 39, Schönermark, Uckermark, two, Cambridge.
Kumm, Wilhelm, 25, peasant, Friederike, 39, Kitzerow, Pommerania, one, Keiskamma Hoek.

Kumm, Ferdinand, 47, peasant, Wilhelmine, 37, Trampke, Pommerania, seven, Stutterheim.
Kurz, Ludwig, 48, peasant, Louise, 47, Sinzlow, Pommerania, three, Keiskamma Hoek.
Lenz, Daniel, 40, peasant, Caroline, 37, Dahlow, Pommerania, six, Cambridge.
Lewrenz, Carl, 36, peasant, Marie, 33, Parmen, Uckermark, three, Keiskamma Hoek.
Meyer, Johann, 25, shepherd, Auguste, 22, Arendsee, Altmark, one, Bodiam.
Nass, Christian, 40, peasant, Louise, 39, Dahlow, Pommerania, four, Cambridge.
Pagel, Christian, 31, peasant, Marie, 33, Trampke, Pommerania, three, Keiskamma Hoek.
Paul, Gottfried, 30, peasant, Wilhelmine, 30, Bandlow, Uckermark, three, Keiskamma Hoek.
Peter, Christian, 27, groom, Charlotte, 27, Schenkenberg, Province Saxony, two, Keiskamma Hoek.
Plötz, Georg, 30, peasant, Marie, 35, Vorheide, Mecklenburg, two, Panmure.
Rieck, Johann, 43, peasant, Friederike, 44, Parmen, Uckermark, one, Keiskamma Hoek.
Rose, Michael, 49, peasant, Charlotte, 48, Arendsee, Altmark, seven, Balassi.
Sandow, Friedrich, 37, fisherman, Albertine, 35, Closterwalde, Uckermark, five Braunschweig.
Schirwitz, Heinrich, 42, peasant, Wilhelmine, 39, Klockow, Uckermark, four, Panmure.
Schmidt, Friedrich, 41, peasant, Caroline, 37, Kutzerow, Brandenburg, three, Keiskamma Hoek.
Schneider, Joseph, 30, peasant, Theresia, 34, Jenkau, Silesia, one, Keiskamma Hoek.
Schulz, Christian, 39, peasant, Johanna, 31, Parmen, Uckermark, none, Keiskamma Hoek.
Schulz, Johann, 38, peasant, Augustine, 25, Gross-Luckow, Mecklenburg, three Hannover.
Schultz, Wilhelm, 32, shepherd, Caroline, 31, Dammerow, Pommerania, five, Panmure.
Siemon, Gottfried, 32, peasant, Caroline, 26, Ramnitz, Brandenburg, none, Kieskamma Hoek.
Speerbrecher, Wilhelm, 31, peasant, Friederike, 33, Ramelow, Mecklenburg, two, Frankfort.
Supra, Johann, 35, peasant, Anna, 33, Briesen, Spreewald, four, Frankfort.
Uterhardt, Carl, 33, shepherd, Maria, 23, Bröllin, Pommerania, none, Panmure.
Wende, Carl, 43, peasant, Johanne, 41, Ramnitz, Brandenburg, three, Panmure.
Zerbe, August, 36, furrier, Juliane, 30, Wilze, West Prussia, four, Hannover.

JOHANN CAESAR

364 tons, left Hamburg on the 1st November 1858, arrived at East London on the 1st February 1859, Captain H. Müller, doctor, Wilhelm Weyergang. Total of 37 families or 202 souls. 5 children died on the voyage.

Bahlmann, Carl, 38, shoemaker, Wilhelmine, 37, Stolzenburg, Pommerania, five, King William's Town.
Bartel, Johann, 23, peasant, Friedrike, 23, Wismar, Uckermark, three, Hannover.
Buchler, August, 23, peasant, Louise, 27, Blumberg, Brandenburg, two, Keiskamma Hoek.
Buchler, Gottlieb, 48, peasant, Elisabeth, 47, Blumberg, Brandenburg, three Keiskamma Hoek.

Buchholtz, Carl, 45, miller, Louise, 32, Dammerow, Pommerania, eight, Cambridge.
Bütler, Johann, 25, peasant, Wilhelmine, 25, Plantickow, Pommerania, one, Frankfort.
Dürrbein, Johann, 36, peasant, Elisabeth, 39, Bergholz, Uckermark, two, Berlin.
Fetting, Gottfried, 34, peasant, Justine, Damitzow, Uckermark, one, Frankfort.
Fick, Martin, 34, peasant, Dorothea, 38, Schmarsow, Uckermark, five, Hannover.
Grassmann, Friedrich, 27, peasant, Dorothea, 31, Menkin, Uckermark, three, Berlin.
Grätz, Gottlieb, 30, miller, Christine, 46, Thiemendorf, Brandenburg, seven, Cambridge.
Heuer, Christian, 48, peasant, Louise, 37, Schönfeld, Brandenburg, six, Frankfort.
Hill, Carl, 29, peasant, Sophie, 28, Teschendorf, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, none, Panmure.
Hill, Johann, 27, peasant, Christine, 21, Teschendorf, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, none, Panmure.
Ihlenfeldt, Ludwig, 39, weaver, Henriette, Strasburg, Uckermark, six, Berlin.
Kieck, Carl, 34, peasant, Charlotte, 35, Schönwalde, Pommerania, four, Hannover.
Krämer (Kraemer), Christian, 47, butcher, Ernstine, 33, Passow, Brandenburg, four, Hannover.
Krienecke, Friedrich, 39, peasant, Christine, Battinsthal, Uckermark, four, Frankfort.
Lindemann, Wilhelm, 36, peasant, Henriette, 35, Hohen-Landin, Uckermark, four, Frankfort.
Pahl August, 32, peasant, Marie, 37, Passow, Uckermark, four, Berlin.
Peincke (Peinke), Michael, 44, peasant, Marie, Dölitz, Pommerania, five, Keiskamma Hoek.
Rieger, Friedrich, 47, peasant, Louise, Zettitz, Brandenburg, six, Panmure.
Rothnick, Wilhelm, 29, peasant, Justine, 29, Hohen-Landin, Uckermark, five, Frankfort.
Paepke, Friedrich, 44, peasant, Louise, 39, Hohen-Landin, Uckermark, three, Frankfort.
Schröder, Friedrich, 23, peasant, Marie, 24, Muscherin, Pommerania, one, Frankfort.
Schröder, August, 32, carpenter, Caroline, 32, Wartin, Pommerania, three, Stutterheim.
Schröder, Carl, 30, peasant, Wilhelmine, 26, Schuchmannshöhe, Uckermark, three, Cambridge.
Schulz, Friedrich, 35, peasant, Johanne, 36, Hohen-Landin, Uckermark, two, Frankfort.
Schumann, Wilhelm, 37, miller, Emilie, 38, Friderichswalde, Pommerania, five, Keiskamma Hoek.
Sparr, Johann, 29, peasant, Marie, 21, Schlicht, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, two, King William's Town.
Spörcke, Carl, 32, peasant, Christine, 24, Schuchmannshöhe, Uckermark, three, Hannover.
Storbeck, Johann, 32, peasant, Therese, 32, Herzfelde, Uckermark, four, Berlin.
Witthuhn, Christian, 36, tailor, Wilhelmine, 39, Stolzenburg, Pommerania, four, Marienthal.
Zastrow, August, 24, peasant, Friederike, 22, Plantickow, Pommerania, one, Frankfort.
Zepernick, Wilhelm, 31, peasant, Christine, Hammelstall, Pommerania, two, Hannover.
Ziegenhagen, Michael, 32, peasant, Friederike, 29, Petznick, Pommerania, three, Berlin.
Ziemann, Georg, 46, peasant, Wilhelmine, 44, Passow, Uckermark, four, Cambridge.

SUMMARY

Origin	Number of Families
Pommerania	137
Uckermark	117
Brandenburg	39
Silesia	20
Hannover	18
Spreewald	17
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	13
Mecklenburg	11
Hesse	10
Wuerttemberg	9
Altmark (Prov. Saxony)	6
Brunswick	6
Prussian	6
Province Saxony	5
Swabia	5
Holstein	5
West Prussia	5
Posen	4
Baden	3
Nassau	2
Schwarzburg	2
Bavaria	1
Saxe Meiningen	1
Berlin	1
Austria	1
Denmark	1
	445

Settlement	Number of Families
Braunschweig	53
Stutterheim	53
Frankfort	47
Berlin	45
Keiskamma Hoek	41
Potsdam	27
Panmure	27
Breidbach	26
Hannover	21
Cambridge	18
King William's Town	17
Wooldridge	15
Ohlsen	7
Bodiam	5
Marienthal	4
Cape Town	4
East London	4
Hamburg	4
Balassi	4
Unknown	4
Germany	3
Peddie	2
Transkei	2
Cradock	1
Greytown	1
Orange Free State	1
India	1
Kwelegha	1
America	1
Bell	1
Alice	1
Natal	1
Ladybrand	1
Grahamstown	1
Wiesbaden	1
	445

THE GERMAN IMMIGRANTS 1877 — 1878

The names have been taken over from the Festschrift of Rev. J. Spanuth. They represent the heads of families. The spelling has been revised where necessary.

Sailing vessel Adele. arrived at East London on the 22nd August, 1877.

Settled at Lilyfontein: R. Kleber, F. Feix, G. Dalbach or Dalbock, A. Richramend or Ruehrmund, W. Pachonik and J. Fibiger.

Settled at East London: H. Leschke, F. Schwitzer, A. Ludwig, F. Osner, L. Waberski and A. Hopf.

Settled at Upper Kwelegba: C. Eggersliess or Eggersgluess.

Settled at Amalinda: C. Fath.

Settled at Stutterheim: A. Hesse and H. Kern.

Sailing vessel Sophie. arrived at East London in November, 1877.

Settled at East London: W. Medefindt, W. Massakowitz, J. Stoehr and C. Aereboe

Settled at Upper Kwelegba: R. Nielsen.

Settled at Lilyfontein: C. Petersen.

Sailing vessel Papa, arrived at East London on the 2nd July, 1878.

Settled at Brakfontein: C. Teltmann or Tiltmann, H. Schaper, H. Piel or Piebl. F. Staffen.

Settled at Upper Kwelegba: Oberem, H. Bauer, N. Liss or Liess, W. Hoffmann. F. Springer, W. De Beyer, C. Kre'schmann, N. Rueffer and J. Heger.

Settled at Lilyfontein: J. Pachonik, F. Pachonik, J. Sonnenberger, J. Bartosch and B. Roller.

Settled at Paardekraal: C. Shäfl.

Settled at East London: I. Matzke, F. Weppelmann, F. Land. W. Bleske, F. Beitz and W. Fischbach or Frischbach.

Settled at Gonubie: P. Mendelski, T. Bode.

Settled at Moolplaas: F. Koester or Küster and G. Schreiber.

Settled at Kuku: J. Hartwanger.

Place of settlement unknown: J. Seeger, Babekeck and C. Trilling.

Dr. A. Krepf

DIE LUTHERISCHE GEMEINDEN KAFFRARIAS 1858-1958

An einen regelmässigen Kirchgang waren die Gutsknechte, jedenfalls auf den Pommerschen Gütern, nicht gewohnt gewesen. Während der Woche mussten sie von früh bis spät ihren Herren dienen. Wurde ihnen am Sonntag etwas freie Zeit gewährt, so mussten die notwendigsten Arbeiten für die Familie, an der ärmlichen Hütte und im Stall getan werden. Ausserdem rahen die Herren einen eifrigen Kirchenbesuch ihrer Knechte nicht gern. Die Ereignisse von 1848 waren nicht ohne Eindruck auf die herrschenden und dienenden Klassen geblieben. In der Kirche, so folgerten die Gutsherren, könnten die Knechte auf den Gedanken kommen, dass alle Menschen vor Gott gleich seien; eine solche Einbildung würde der Pommersche Landadel nicht zulassen.

Von diesem Druck waren die Emigranten nun frei. Sie hätten zur Kirche gehen können; sie wären gern zur Kirche gegangen. Sie mussten ein geistiges Gegengewicht haben gegen die ungeheure Belastung, die ihnen der Kampf um die nue Existenz auferlegte. Sie brauchten einen inneren Halt, um nicht zu verzweifeln, eine Ordnung, einen Richtungspunkt für ihr gemeinsames Leben, einen sinnvollen Inhalt ihrer Sonntage, besonders im Blick auf die Kinder, auf Haus und Familie.

In den Regulativ des Kontraktes, den die Regierung Kaffrarias mit der Firma Godefroy zwecks Ausschiffung die Bauernfamilien abgeschlossen hatte, war ausdrücklich erwähnt worden: "Erforderlich ist für jedes Schiff ein Arzt und wünschenswert ein Geistlicher oder Lehrer, deren Kabine die Regierung bezahlt und die im übrigen die Emigrantenbedingungen teilen." Leider ist die zweite Hälfte dieses Paragraphes nur für eins der Auswandererschiffe erfüllt worden, auf dem sich der Schullehrer Komse befand.

Solange die Legion im Lande war, konnten deren Kuplane die nötigsten gottesdienstlichen Handlungen vornehmen. Dem Missionar Kropf hielt die Regierung ein Maultiergespann, sodass die weiten Reisen bis in den Peddie-Distrikt, zu den Siedlungen in Bell und Bodiam, erträglicher waren, als wenn er hätte gehen müssen. In Potsdam geschach die erste kirchliche Versorgung von Newlands aus, wo Pastor Lange im Dienst der Englischen Kirche als Missionar wirkte. Ein von den Legionären Langs im Dienst der Englischen Kirche als Missionar wirkte. Ein von den Legionären erbautes Fleetbhaus diente als Kirche, in der alle paar Wochen Gottesdienste gehalten wurde. Einige Male kam auch der Englische Bischof. Mit der Auflösung der Legion trat ein Vakuum in der geistlichen Versorgung der Emigranten ein; nur in Stutterheim konnten sie das Gotteshaus der Berliner Missionsstation Bethel zeitweilig benutzen. Die lutherischen Missionare waren durch die umfangreiche und mühselige Arbeit an den Eingeborenen stark in Anspruch genommen. Dennoch haben sie sich, soweit es irgend möglich war, ihrer deutschen Landsleute angenommen. Die Tagebuchaufzeichnungen, die D. Kropf und Liefeldt von ihren Zusammentreffen mit den Auswanderen und den Zuständen in deren Siedlungen gemacht haben, sind aufschlussreich. Noch 1862 seufzen und fragen sie: "Wann werden doch diese armen Seelen geistliche Hülfe vom Vaterland bekommen?" Unverdrossen und bis an die Grenze ihrer Kraft haben die beiden Genannten eine ambulante geistliche Versorgung an den Eingewanderten geübt. Zweifelsf. Widerstände stellten sich ihrer seelsorgerlichen Arbeit entgegen. Der eine ging aus von den drei 'Saufhöden in dem deutschen Dorfe Stutterheim', von deren Auswirkung Kropf berichtet: "Es ist hier garnicht zu verwundern, dass die deutsche Jugend

verwilder: und der deutsche Name stinkend gemacht wird." Auch in anderen Siedlungen waren 'Krüge' vorhanden, meist die von den Legionären hinterlassenen Kantinen, aber Klagen über denen missbräuchlichen Besuch werden nicht erhoben.— Der andere Widerstand war geistlicher Art und bei weitem schwerwiegender und folgenreich für die Entwicklung der deutschen Gemeinwesen. Es handelt sich um folgendes: In Frankfurt hatte sich, unter Führung von Carsten Langheln, eine 'Heiligungsbewegung' angebahnt. Obwohl die lutherischen Missionare dieser Einhalt zu gebieten versuchten, schlossen sich eine grosse Zahl der Eingewanderten der Bewegung an; in kurzer Zeit sprang diese auf alle deutschen Siedlungen über. Sie ist, aufs Ganze gesehen, zu beurteilen als eine geistliche Selbsthilfe angesichts der unmöglich ausreichenden Versorgung durch die lutherischen Missionare. Die Berichte über diesen 'Aufstand der Taufgesinnten', die schriftlich nur von lutherischer Seite vorliegen, bieten ein Bild von den chaotischen geistlichen Zuständen, die damals unter den Angesiedelten herrschten. " . . . Regen und Kälte trieben mich in die erste beste Wohnung. Ein noch ungemachtes Bett nahm ziemlich die Wohnung des deutschen Emigranten ein. Der Hausherr las eben aus Offb. 19, 18. In einer anderen Ecke sass ein langer hagerer Mann, der bitterlich weinte. Die Hausfrau fütterte zu gleicher Zeit junge Enten, weil sie ihrer Mutterlichkeit wegen ihre Behausung unter jenem Bette hatten, und ich kauerte mich neben diese Tierchen in einen noch vorhandenen Winkel. Nach dieser Morgenandacht wandte ich mich an den weinenden Mann und fragte nach dem Kummer seines Herzens. Er antwortete, er wolle selig sein, sei es ein Heiliger schon, sei es ein Heiliger nicht. Ich erwiderte ihm: 'Jesus nimmt die Sünder an' und riet ihm, er solle lieber in den Evangelien lesen, da werde er mehr finden, was sein Herz bedürfe. Mit dieser Bemerkung hatte ich in ein Wespennest gegriffen. Die drei Anwesenden vereinigten sich im Bekennergeister gegen mich. Ich bewegte mich zu der Tür hin, durch die ich eingetreten war und wünschte ihnen deutlich einen guten Morgen und dazu Gottes reiche Gnade. Sie aber schrien: 'Unser Nachbar kann es noch besser; der wird auch diesen Mann eines Besseren belehren':"—Von einen anderen Besuch am gleichen Orte schreibt Liefeldt: " . . . es drohen schon nordamerikanische Zustände einzutreten, und es bewarden sich gleichmässig ein versoffener Legionä und ein baptistischer Maurergeselle um die Pastorenstelle in Frankfurt." Das schrieb Liefeldt gewiss nicht um der grotesken Tatsache willen, sondern aus dem betrübten Herzen eines bekümmerten Seelsorgers.

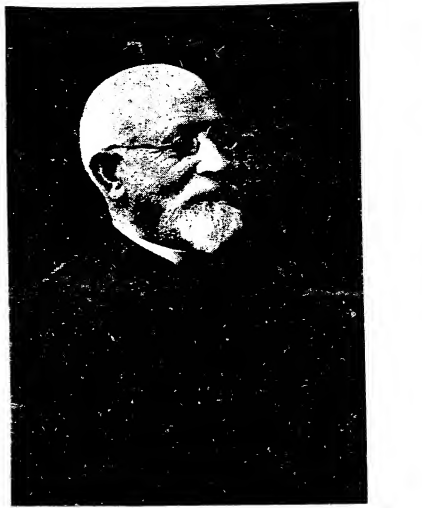
Dass es trotz dieser Widerstände gelang, in jener Zeit die Grundlage zu schaffen, auf der sich später die lutherischen Gemeinden aufbauen sollten, ist nur so zu erklären, dass ein grosser Teil der Einwanderer an der kirchlichen Tradition festhielten, die sie aus dem Vaterlande mitgebracht hatten, die ihnen in ihrem armseligen Ringen ums tägliche Brot Halt und Trost war und die sie ihren Kindern als notwendiges Teil ihres Erbes hinterlassen wollten. Diese positive Seite im Charakter der Eingewanderten war stärker als die genannten und andere späterhin auftretenden zahlreichen Schwächen. In Oktober 1862 trägt Liefeldt in sein Tagebuch ein: "Ich hatte heute Gottesdienst in King William's Town und predigte über den Text 'wir sind Gäste und Pilgrime'. Die lieben Landsleute hatten in den letzten sechs Monaten öffentlich kein Wort des Herrn gehört, seit drei Jahren hatten sie keine Gelegenheit, das hl. Abendmahl zu feiern . . . " Bei diesen gelegentlichen Gottesdiensten wurden von den Missionaren auch die nötigen Amtshandlungen, wie Taufen und Unterricht im Katechismus vollzogen. Der Bitte der Deutschen, doch häufiger zu kommen, konnten sie leider nicht entsprechen. In der Hoffnung, dass dieser Mangel eines Tages behoben sein würde, begannen die Siedler

trotz widriger Umstände und unzureichender Mittel schon Anfang der 60 er Jahre Bethäuser aus Soden und, sobald dies möglich war, auch feste Gotteshäuser aus gebrochenen Steinen zu bauen, alles mit eigenen Händen, ohne Baumeister, ohne Zement. Aber fest bauten sie, starke Mauern, ihren ganzen Willen, dem harten Schicksal zu trotzen, bauten sie mit hinein, als sollten diese Steine singen: Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott!—Als im Sandilikriege ein Teil Kaffrariens zeitweise evakuiert werden musste, da wurde einer der deutschen Kirchenplätze in ein Fort verwandelt; die Kirche wurde Zufluchtsort für Frauen und Kinder; das Schulhaus, auch um seiner Festigkeit willen, das Arsenal; ein Schützengraben umgab das Ganze. Noch heute stehen einige dieser ersten festen Kirchen.

Mit der Errichtung des Gotteshauses hatten die Siedler den Mittelpunkt geschaffen, um den herum sich eine Gemeinde sammeln konnte. Hatte dieses gemeinsame Werk alle verfügbaren Kräfte in Anspruch genommen, so bildete sich dabei ein Charakterzug der Siedler heraus, der heute noch für die Gemeinden bezeichnend ist. "Das ist nun unsere Kirche!" sagten sie unter einander. "Das ist nun eure Kirche!" sagten sie zu den Jungen. Nicht Stolz oder Ueberheblichkeit spricht aus diesen Worten, vielmehr das unbeugsame Bewusstsein, aus dem Nichts ein bleibendes Werk geschaffen zu haben und ein Eigentum zu besitzen, an dem jedes Gemeindeglied das gleiche Recht hatte und dessen Rechtstitel zu verteidigen sie jederzeit allesamt bereit sein würden. Der Kampf um die neue Existenz im fremden Lande war in vieler Beziehung schwerer als das Leben im Sklavenstande, aus dem sie gekommen waren, aber hier in ihrer Kirche, da waren sie zum ersten Male in ihrem Leben wirklich frei und ihre eigenen Herren. Deshalb nahmen die Siedler willig und geduldig alle die Lasten auf sich, die sich notwendigerweise ergaben, als regelmässige Gottesdienste eingerichtet werden konnten und schliesslich die Berufung eines eigenen Pastors in Angriff genommen werden konnte.

Der sehnliche Wunsch der Missionare, ihre Ausbilfsarbeit an den deutschen Landsleuten endlich in die Hände eines deutschen Pastors abgeben zu können, wurde erst von der Mitte der 60 er Jahre ab für die einzelnen Gemeinden in verschiedenen Zeitabständen erfüllt. Mit dem Eintreffen von Pastor Clüver war die erste Verbindung zwischen den lutherischen Gemeinden Kaffrarias und dem Konsistorium der Hannoverschen Landskirche hergestellt. Die Gemeinden schufen sich feste Ordungen, indem sie diejenigen der Gemeinden am Kap der Guten Hoffnung übernahmen oder ihre eigenen Ordnungen jenen nachbildeten. Als im Jahre 1895 die deutsche ev. luth. Synode Südafrikas gegründet wurde, wurde die schon bestehende ideele Verbindung mit den lutherischen Gemeinden am Kap auch organisatorisch sichtbar. War die Synode zunächst nur im Sinne eines Zweckverbandes gegründet worden, so war in ihrer Ordnung bereits das Ziel aufgewiesen, dass dieser Verband nur eine Zwischenstation sei zwischen Einzelgemeinde und Kirche und dass mit ihm das Ziel ins Auge gefasst sei, mit den lutherischen Synoden anderer Provinzen des Landes zusammen zu einer lutherischen Kirche Südafrikas heranzuwachsen.

Mit der Gründung der Synode war in den lutherischen Gemeinden eine Spannung entstanden zwischen den von Seiten der Synode um deren Entwicklung willen vorgenommenen organisatorischen Massnahmen einerseits und dem Recht der Einzelgemeide und ihrem Rechtsgefühl für das Eigene andererseits. Die Spannung zwischen den genannten Brennpunkten und allem, was sich im Laufe der Zeit um diese herumgelegt hat, hat sich teilweise sehr fruchtbar, teilweise auch hindernd und Zerstörungan richtend für beide Teile erwiesen. Dass die Gemeinde Sparrieheim sich erst im Jahre 1967 und die Gemeinde Frankfurt erst 1910 der Synode anschlos-



Pastor Hugo Gutsche

sen, lässt etwas von diesen Spannungen ahnen, ebenso wie die Trennung des grössten Verbandes von Landgemeinden im Jahre 1935. Die besonders in den Kriegsjahren und der Nachkriegszeit sehr scharf gestellte Frage, ob die Zugehörigkeit der einzelnen Gemeinde zur Berliner Mission nicht nur aus Nützlichkeitserwägungen oder sentimentalen Gründen, sondern aus sachlichen, die Existenz der Gemeinde betreffenden Gründen der Zugehörigkeit zur Synode vorzuziehen sei, ist nur eine besondere Akzentuierung der obengenannten Spannung.

Wenn in der jüngsten Vergangenheit durch die Gründung des Lutherischen Weltbundes die Entwicklung der lutherischen Gemeinden und Synoden zu einer lutherischen Kirche Südafrikas in ein Stadium eingetreten ist, in dem sich neue Möglichkeiten zur Erreichung des ins Auge gefassten Zieles bieten, so ist die Hoffnung berechtigt, dass die in den Einzelgemeinden bestehenden Spannungen sich auswirken als vorwärtstreibende Kraft zum Wachstum des Ganzen und zum Segen für alle Glieder.

J. F. SCHWAR

THE GERMAN BAPTIST CHURCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA

The beginnings of the German Baptist Churches in South Africa go back to the coming of the German Immigrants to this country in 1858 and 1859. Amongst the 2,145 Immigrants, there were five people who were Baptists. They were Carsten Langhein and his wife Dorothea, Carl Gustav Adolph Schmidt and his wife Maria Christine, and Christian Friedrich Sandow. They did not emigrate as a group, nor did they come from the same places in Germany. In South Africa they settled in different villages. Langhein going to Frankfort, Schmidt to Berlin, and Sandow to Braunschweig.

Carsten Langhein was born at Willstedt in the duchy of Holstein on the 20th June, 1809. At the time of his emigration from Germany he lived at Duvenstedt near Hamburg. He was a mason or stone-cutter. On one occasion he went to Hamburg to buy a chest of drawers. The second-hand dealer, Rittmer, gave him a tract to read. It was only when a charge of immorality was laid against the village pastor that he again thought of the tract. In the meantime he had refused to have his child baptized. He again visited the dealer in Hamburg and through him he got into touch with the Baptists there. Upon the profession of his faith he was immersed and joined the Baptist Church. It must be mentioned that the Baptist movement under he leadership of Johann Gerhard Oncken had only just got started in Germany at this time.

The prospectus issued by Dieseldorff and Co., inviting people to emigrate to South Africa, also reached Langhein, and he decided to try and better his economic position in this new country. He sailed on the La Rochelle together with his wife and five children. On the journey it was his custom on Sundays to invite his fellow-

passengers to the divine services which he conducted. He was a tall man and as in his sermons he so often referred to God as Herr Gott, he got the nickname of "der lange Herrgott" (the long Lord God). When the passengers of the La Rochelle saw him making his rounds, inviting them to his services, they would say, "Hier kommt der lange Herrgott". It has never been mentioned whether Langhein found any converts on the ship.

Carsten Langhein settled at Frankfort after his arrival in South Africa. He built a house for himself, started his farming operations and he also continued preaching. It was only after nearly three years that Mr. and Mrs. Langhein, Mr. and Mrs. Adolph Schmidt and Mr. Christian Sandow met on the 13th April, 1861, to form a church. Mr. Langhein was elected to be the elder. A communion service was held. As the church grew in numbers, contact was sought with the English Baptists in South Africa. Mr. Langhein was then duly ordained as a minister by the Rev. Alexander Hay of Grahamstown. By the end of the year the church had 61 members. As the field was large and the Rev. Mr. Langhein could not cope with all the work, helpers were appointed to assist him in preaching, baptizing candidates and breaking the bread. This was early in 1862. The helpers were Mr. Sandow of Braunschweig, Mr. Schmidt of Berlin and Mr. J. Kraemer of Hannover. They preached in many places and had many prayer meetings. The Baptist groups often met and sang and prayed for three hours running. The lay preachers, for want of horses or vehicles, walked long distances to fulfil their preaching appointments. Meetings were held in the homes of the followers or in the open. The first convert was immersed by Mr. Langhein at Frankfort on the 2nd June, 1861. In 1867 Mr. Langhein announced that he would in future serve the various preaching places at the expense of the English brethren. How long and to what extent this help was available is not stated. Quite soon the church was raising its own funds. It is interesting to know that no photograph of Carsten Langhein is available. He is claimed to have stated: "If I want to see myself, I can look into a bucket of water, so why have a photograph taken?"

The followers of Langhein called themselves by various names at first. References are found to the Evangelical Baptists or Christians at Frankfort, or Evangelical Church of Baptized Believers in Africa, or Church of Baptized Believers consisting of Germans. In 1887 the name Church of Baptized Believers in British Kaffraria was formed, and it embraced all the scattered groups of followers in the country.

The new movement soon suffered from the same ailment that long ago beset all churches that followed the congregational form of government. There were many leaders and each leader soon had his own group of followers. This led to many dissensions. Mr. Langhein tried his best, but not being a trained minister, he could not handle the situation. Chaotic conditions set in. In spite of this, the German Baptists in South Africa always valued highly the work he had done. Carsten Langhein died on the 1st October, 1882. A memorial plaque was erected in the Frankfurt church and an iron railing with a plaque put round his grave.

In order to meet the chaotic conditions, which threatened to take on ever greater proportions, the wish was expressed more and more that a trained minister should be called, who could then organize the work of the church. Mr. Oncken in Hamburg was written to with the request that he send them such a man. As he did not immediately supply the need, he was approached again, and he replied, "Good men do not grow on apple trees", and that the Baptists in South Africa would have to wait until he could find a suitable man.

It was not until 1867 that such a man was found. Oncken's choice fell upon Carl Hugo Gutsche. He was born on the 20th April, 1843 in Delitzsch in the Province of Saxony. He received a good education in school and then trained as a pharmacist. He made contacts with the Baptists in Germany and was immersed on the 25th December, 1864. He was a young man with many gifts. It is, therefore, not surprising at all that he was chosen to be an assistant minister to Oncken in Hamburg. He held the position for 18 months. He married Mary Lange on the island of Heligoland in September, 1867, was ordained in the same month and sailed for South Africa on the vessel Celt in October. The passage money was paid by the bookseller F. Bergemann of Neuruppin.

Hugo Gutsche, as he was later known in South Africa, had a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, was a powerful speaker, and had a fiery zeal. He had an allround culture, a love for sinners, and a deep missionary interest. He was hardworking, had an unwavering faith in the Bible and lived a prayer life. It is of interest to know that Hugo Gutsche refused a call to become a professor in the Hamburg Baptist Theological Seminary. He served the German Baptists in South Africa for 30 years, spent a few years in retirement and then died at King William's Town on the 12th June, 1926. He was always affectionately known as Father Gutsche.

According to statements made by Mr. Gutsche himself, neither Oncken nor anyone else in Hamburg knew where British Kaffraria was. Oncken's advice to was, "Go to Cape Town. It is the capital of the Cape Colony. There you will find out where to look for your future flock." In Cape Town someone told Mr. Gutsche to go to Genadendal, where he would find some Germans. Another advised him to go to Port Elizabeth. This the Gutsches did. They remained in Port Elizabeth for two weeks. Somehow the news reached British Kaffraria that the new minister was at the Bay. Mr. Oscar Donian, who had taken a leading part in asking for a trained minister, and who had also sent verses of welcome to Mr. Gutsche at Hamburg, now sent a telegram to him advising that he and his wife should travel by post cart to Grahamstown. In that city the Gutsches met the Rev. Alexander Hay, with whom they formed a lifelong friendship. Mr. Donian sent his carriage to Grahamstown to fetch them. A mounted cavalcade met Mr. and Mrs. Gutsche seven miles out from King William's Town on the then Grahamstown road. This was on the 7th December, 1857.

Hugo Gutsche lost no time in facing the problems which awaited him. A series of congregational meetings was held at Braunschweig, Panmure, Frankfort, Breidbach and Hantover. The Church of Baptized Believers in British Kaffraria was founded eleven days after his arrival. The question of where the minister should live had to be settled. Some favoured Breidbach because there was a church there. Others were for Hantover, Berlin or Frankfort. The unity was in favour of King William's Town because it was central and could conveniently be reached by all. There were no members in the town then. The minister's salary was fixed at £150, out of which he had to pay house-rent and his travelling expenses. The minister had to travel a great deal and hold many meetings. Mary Gutsche often accompanied her husband and she was asked to lead the singing. Church choirs have always been a feature of the German Baptist Churches. Mr. Gutsche himself had no ear for music. Frankfort and Braunschweig were the main stations. The centre of gravity gradually shifted to the towns. The membership in King William's Town rose from 2—Rev. and Mrs. Gutsche—to 75 and that at Frankfort sank from 61 to 35. In all Mr. Gutsche found 283 members awaiting him.

Jacobus Daniel Odendaal, a farmer of Witkop near Burghersdorp, came to

Seek contacts with Baptists near King William's Town. He had heard of the coming of the Rev. Hugo Gutsche. Mr. Odendaal was the first candidate Mr. Gutsche baptized at Frankfort. This event is important in the history of the Baptist Church South Africa because Mr. Odendaal became the pioneer of Afrikaans Baptist work in the country. He was ordained as an elder in 1875.

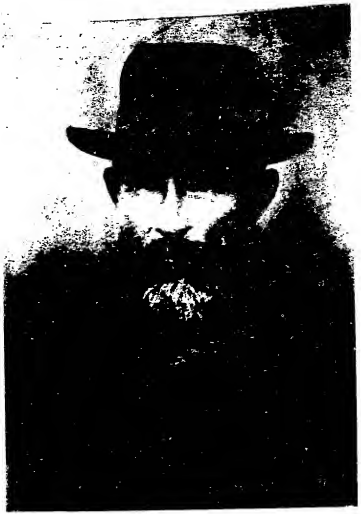
In order better to cope with the work of the church, it was decided to divide it into three associations. There was the Western Association with Frankfort, Braunschweig and Stutterheim as stations, the Eastern Association with Breidbach, Hannover, Berlin and Macleantown as stations, and the Coastal Association with Panmure as the centre. The associations took turns in having a quarterly conference which each station in the church was expected to send several delegates. These conferences discussed the affairs of the church. The first deacons were elected in 1870. Lay preachers had to undergo a preaching test before the church. The brethren Fetting, Gernetzky, Langhein and C. Pape passed it. These men spoke freely in the church services, whilst Spurgeon's sermons were to be read by the preachers.

The church had a Puritanical character. Many questions were discussed. Non-attendance at services, coming late to meetings, racing home after the services, playing cards, smoking after services, were all severely frowned upon. Behaving in an unruly or loud manner and feasts after funerals were censured. The question of suicide, People who got into debt or who turned insolvent were disciplined. Members were not allowed to work in a bar or hotel. Worldly talk on Sundays was discouraged. A member who married an unbeliever (non-Baptist) was expelled. No one was allowed to speak evil about the church. Minds were exercised over the question as to whether a Christian may join the police, the railways or the army. May a Christian take part in public races or sell red ochre was asked. May women and children pray at public prayer meetings was also asked. The conduct of funerals was discussed. The closed communion was observed. Because the Baptists in South Africa observed the open communion, the German Baptists for many years refused to join them at the Lord's Table. In the early days church discipline was very severe and many members were expelled from the church for one reason or another.

The members at first were very poor and it was difficult to raise church funds. The members were urged to plant potatoes and use the money received through the sale of th crop to raise funds for the purchase of books. Under the guidance of Mr. Gutsche the raising of funds was regularized. Each station was asked to have a fund into which flowed the monies collected at services, (2) a missionary fund, (3) a fund to help the poor—the collections taken at communion services—and (4) a fund to buy tracts.

The Immigrants all had the education which was offered in German country schools a century ago. For a number of years there were no schools for their children in South Africa. In order to meet the need for education, 15 copies of the "Sondoboe" were ordered from America. The price was found to be too high. It was then decided to start a library. Two thirds of the books were to be kept at King William's Town and one third at Frankfort. No member was allowed to keep a book longer than a month, and no station could keep a book longer than three months. The brethren Berndt, Junior, Kraemer, Langhein and Sondow managed the library.

Rev. Hugo Gutsche and his wife soon saw that something practical had to be



Carl Pape

done to educate the children of the Immigrants. They offered to teach them reading, writing and reckoning. The classes met on Wednesdays in King William's Town. Education was encouraged in a general way. No one was received as a member who could not read. Exceptions however were made. Every member was expected to contribute voluntarily a penny per month. In this way it was expected to raise £19. Another £11 were to be raised otherwise. These sums together with a subsidy from the Government were to pay a teacher. A church school was started on the 3rd July, 1871 in Hannover with 14 children. The teacher, Mr. Borrmann, also started a school in Frankfort in September of the same year. The attendance of the children was irregular because their parents used them for work at home. In January, 1878, a church school was started in King William's Town. It became a part of the German-English School located in Queen's Street in December, 1884.

The Church of Baptized Believers in British Kaffraria not only gave the Afrikaans Baptist Church in South Africa its start, but was also directly instrumental in starting Baptist mission work at Tshabo near Berlin. Mr. Carl Pape of Berlin was the pioneer missionary. His saintly wife, Luise, born Bauer, loyally stood by his side. Carl Pape was a passenger on the La Rochelle where on board he heard Carsten Langhein preach. In about 1860 he accompanied a Mr. Dennis on a trading trip to the Transkei. It was there that he learnt to speak Xhosa fluently. Upon his return he soon joined the Langhein movement and was immersed. The Transkei trip had made him see the spiritual need of the Natives. At an early date he started preaching to them. Rev. Hugo Gutsche had a sympathetic understanding of mission work. Mr. Pape's work was therefore recognized officially by the Baptist Church in 1866. In July, 1874 Carl Pape was ordained as an evangelist for mission work. He laid down his official appointment in 1879, the reason being that he had a large family to support and the missionary salary was small. The members of the German church found it difficult to raise money for mission work owing to their own general poverty. Mr. Pape took up farming and continued preaching as a voluntary worker for many years. In 1879 a chapel-school was built at Tshabo. A mission house at Tshabo followed in 1888. Carl Pape died at Berlin in 1911. From the small seed he planted at Tshabo a great tree has grown. The Baptist Union of South Africa came to the assistances of the German Church in running the mission at Tshabo and a committee was formed for this purpose. Then in 1892 the South African Baptist Missionary Society was formed at King William's Town. According to its 1967 report the Society then had 215 buildings, 524 preaching stations, 1,377 preachers and other workers, 17,247 members, and 11,089 children at Sunday School.

Meanwhile the German Baptist Church had grown in numbers. The Rev. E. P. Riemer came from America to assist Mr. Gutsche in 1874. In 1878 the church was divided into two congregations, Berlin taking 219 members and sponsoring the mission at Tshabo, and King William's Town taking 190 members and looking after the church school in town. The "Bund deutscher Baptisten-Gemeinden in Suedafrika" was formed. The work steadily grew until in 1955 there were 11 churches in affiliation with the Bund with a total membership of 1,665. It was then decided to amalgamate the Bund with the Border Baptist Association. The German language is still used in some of the former "Bund" churches.

In its 77 years as a distinctive church the German Baptist movement has had an interesting history. Its rise was phenomenal. That was partly due to the chaotic spiritual conditions which obtained in British Kaffraria a hundred years ago, and part to the remarkable spiritual initiative which the leaders possessed. The authorities had already made themselves guilty of neglecting the spiritual needs of the

Legionaries. There were never more than two Protestant chaplains for the three regiments. When the Immigrants came there was to be a doctor and either a minister or a teacher on each ship. Nothing came of this idea except that the teacher, A. E. Chomse, arrived on the Wandrahm with a wife and 8 children. All that is known of him is that no security was taken from him to cover the £73 he owed for his passage and that naturalization papers were issued to him in 1865. The two Lutheran missionaries. Kropf at Bethel and Liefeldt at Petersberg, could not cope with all the work facing them in looking after the spiritual needs of the Immigrants and of their own flocks amongst the Natives. That was the position which faced Carsten Langhein and the other four Baptists who came with him to South Africa. It is a characteristic of the Baptist Church that suitable laymen are allowed to exercise functions which in most other churches are looked upon as being the prerogative of the clergy. The activity of the early German Baptists can therefore be said to have been an expression of their evangelical zeal and their attempt to help themselves. That emotionalism played a part in the movement must be admitted. The great majority of the members were thrifty, sober, orderly and industrious. Dr. Hugo Gutsche, Junior, on one occasion said that the faith of the early German Baptists saved them from materialism and indifference. Their attempt at self-help was also translated into the sphere of giving. Aside from the financial help they received from the English brethren and from Hamburg, which help never could have assumed big proportions, they supported their churches themselves. In the 77 years of their existence the German Baptists built 17 churches, four of them being replacements of older buildings. The German Baptist Churches had their ups and downs and their faults, but they nevertheless made a valuable contribution to the spiritual life of South Africa.

B. E. PAPE.

SEEDS IN BRITISH KAFFRARIA

It is with extreme diffidence that I yield to a request to write something about the Catholic contribution to South Africa emanating from the early German Immigrants.

The year 1958 has been chosen to celebrate their centenary. More correctly speaking, the first German missionaries arrived in Kaffraria as early as 1837, and in 1838 we find the intrepid Catholic Bishop P. R. Griffith visiting British Kaffraria on horseback all the way from Cape Town to greet in the name of Christ the scattered flock of his vast vicariate. When on the same tour he went to Graaff-Reinet, the Civil Commissioner, W. C. Rynveld, and the Justice of Peace both respectfully called on him as a Christian leader.

In 1848 Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the District between the Kei on the East and the Keiskama and the Tyumie on the West to be British Kaffraria with King William's Town as its capital. He hoped thus to have a buffer between the Cape

Colonists and the many Native tribes on the Eastern frontier. The buffer territory would be a burden on the British taxpayer, but with Colonel Makinnon as its Commissioner it was hoped the arrangement would tend to peace.

After the national suicide of the Amaxosa the official returns of Kaffraria showed a decrease of population. In fact, large tracts of land had become waste by this mad act of the Xosas. Sir George Grey then made a contract with a merchant in Hamburg to select a body of agricultural labourers from the hardy peasantry of Northern Germany. The men were accompanied by their wives and children, were inured to toil and were accustomed to rough living. In 1858 and 1859 these people, in number over 2,000, landed at East London. They settled mainly in the valley of the Buffalo River. Many were Catholics, but rural living led to a gradual falling away from the Catholic Church. There were so few priests and none whose services they could regularly attend. Besides there was the language difficulty as no priest had accompanied the party.

At the close of the Crimean War Baron Von Stutterheim brought out 2,362 officers and men of the German Legion. They came in seven ships and 805 of them were Catholics. They were served by the missionary priests at King William's Town, and when Father de Sany was appointed the Borough to the Settlers were happy to have a guide who knew their language. He took a personal interest in each settler and soon under his guidance they had built for themselves a church at Stutterheim. This served also as a lager when Native raids were expected. On one such occasion a boy was born during the raid—born in the Catholic church but he was not a Catholic. The spacious Catholic church and presbytery of today mark the site of the stout little shapel built by the Catholic Settlers. The modern structure is like a dream come true of those early hardy workers.

Most of these men, frugal, temperate, industrious and religious, contributed very largely to the prosperity of British Kaffraria. Some became market gardeners, others worked as blacksmiths and by honest industry led to the expansion of the town. Even today Ludwig's General Engineering Works in Dragon Street is run by the doyen of the descendants of the Legionaries; and proud he is to be such a descendant. Practical Catholic, he has made friends with all the Germans of the vicinity.

So prosperous had the Province become that in October, 1859, East London was chartered as belonging to British Kaffraria, and thus at last the Province had its own seaport. However, when in 1865 Sir Phillip Wodehouse incorporated British Kaffraria into the Cape Colony. East London and King William's Town were made separate districts.

From baptismal registers one can glean that not all rural German Settlers made successful farmers. Many signed themselves as butchers, bakers, tinsmiths, shoemakers. These proved by honest industry an asset to the towns in which they lived. From the same registers we find that a minority of the settlers signed themselves as "Gent". One smiles when at the next signature the "Gent" is omitted, while at the third and fourth entries "Gent" is replaced by Contractor or Clerk as the case might be. There was no shame in honest work and men such as these remained true to their religious beliefs. On the other hand there was a minority of falling away from the Church especially among the descendants of those who were perhaps less well grounded in their religion.

Not only did Sir George Grey give the capital of British Kaffraria a hospital, but he frequently urged the matter of opening a school in King William's Town, to teach the children of German Settlers. For this purpose Col. John Maclean, the

Lieutenant Governor of British Kaffraria, gave six erven as a grant in freehold to Bishop Moran in trust for educational purposes. On this spot, right opposite to what was then entirely Grey Hospital grounds, Father Fagan built a Convent School for the children of German Settlers. Chevalier Max Anton Fraundorffer, a resident of Port Elizabeth, in 1877 brought seven German Sisters from his native city of Augsburg to teach the children of the settlers. This convent with its many branches has now developed into a large educational centre such as even the far-seeing Sir George Grey could hardly have visualised. Its branch at Stutterheim was specially opened to teach the descendants of the settlers' children, of whom there were about 60 in the town and 80 in the district. In fact the King William's Town Convent, founded by Germans for German Settlers, with its 42 branch schools, containing 13,000 pupils might well be regarded as the greatest social and educational contribution of the German Settlers to South Africa.

SISTER MARY JOSEPH SWEETNAM.

DEUTSCHE SCHULEN 1858 – 1958

In Folgenden sollen die Motive aufgezeigt werden, die für die Anfänge. für die Art- und Abwärtsentwicklung des deutschen Schulweseus in Kaffraria massgebend gewesen sind und die heute noch, nach hunderr Jahren, in gleicher Weise und mit unverminderter Dringlichkeit die deutsche Schularbeit hier bestimmend beeinflussen. Dabei wird notwendigerweise die Wechselbeziehung zwischen der Pflege der deutschen Sprache in der Schule einerseits und deren Gebrauch als Kirchensprache und als Umgangssprache in Gemeinwesen andererseits herausgestellt werden müssen. Wie für alle Schulung und Erziehung der Kinder so sind auch für die der deutschen und deutschstämmigen Kinder hier dreierlei Personen und Instanzen, oder besser gesagt, dreierlei Stände verantwortlich, nämlich die Eltern, die Lehrer und Erzieher und die staatliche Obrigkeit.

Sehr bald nach der Einwanderung kamen die Eltern zu der Ueberzeugung: unsere Kinder sollten Schule haben, wenigstens Lesen und Schreiben lernen, sodass sie Bibel und Gesangbuch lesen und ihren Namen schreiben können. Diesem Verlangen standen erhebliche Schwierigkeiten im Wege. Dass zunächst niemand vorhanden war, der die Kinder hätte unterrichten können, war das kleinere Uebel, das mit der Zeit auch behoben werden konnte. Schlimmer und anhaltender war die Vergegenheit, die sich aus der bitteren Not des Kampfes um die Existenz ergab. Sobald ein Kind auch nur einige Handgriffe tun konnte, musste es den Eltern helfen, im Garten, im Land, beim Viehhüten und beim Ochsenleiten; an keiner Stelle des mühsamen Arbeitsbetriebes konnte es entbehrt werden. Und doch fühlten die Eltern andererseits die Verantwortung, die Kinder zur Schule zu schicken, sobald eine Lehrkraft vorhanden war. Wie viele Sorgen, Seufzer und Tränen mag dieser Zwiespalt im Herzen den Eltern gekostet haben! Das ergebnis war, dass nicht wenige Kinder der Emigranten Analphabeten blieben.

In einer ausführlichen Petition deutscher Eltern an das Parlament vom Jahre

1911 wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass bereits in den "Allgemeinen Befehlen an die Deutsche Legion" den Militärsiedlern die Zusicherung gegeben worden war, eigene Geistliche und Lehrer zu bekommen und dass General Stutterheim feierlich hinzugefügt hatte: " . . . und diese Bedingungen, wie sie euch von mir angeboten werden, sind garantiert durch die Regierung unserer Königin." In demselben Zusammenhang beriefen sich die Bittsteller darauf, dass der "weitblickende und edle Staatsmann Sir George Grey' das schriftliche Versprechen abgegeben habe, "dass es den Emigranten niemals an Lehrern fehlen sollte, um die Kinder in ihrer Sprache zu unterrichten." Trotz dieser Zusagen war nur auf einem einzigen der Emigrantenschiffe vom Jahre 1858 ein Lehrer vorhanden, und dieser hat, aus unbekannten Gründen, sein Amt niemals ausgeübt. Die von den Geschichtsschreibern gegebene Uebersicht über den Einsatz und die Tätigkeit der ersten Schulmeister, die sich der Emigrantenkinder annahmen, mag hier durch einige zeitgenössische Berichte ergänzt werden. Liefeldt schreibt im Jahre 1861: "Besonders willkommen war ich immer in Keiskamahoek, wo Pommern aus der Stargarder Gegend wohnen. Diese haben jetzt auch einen Lehrer aus Pyritz erhalten, welcher sich der kleinen Gemeinde mit Treue anzunehmen scheint; nach einem rechtschaffenen deutschen Pastor sehnen sie immer noch mit Schmerzen aus." Am 24 Oktober desselben Jahres trägt er in sein Tagebuch ein: "Vor vierzehn Tagen hatten die Deutschen in der Umgegend von Braunschweig einen Repräsentanten hergeschickt, um zu hören, ob wir ihnen einen Lehrer verschaffen könnten; sie hätten ein Schulhaus mit Tisch und Bänken eingerichtet, hätten aber niemand, der Unterricht geben könnte; die Kinder, so sagte der Mann, wüchsen auf, ohne jirger als die Heidenkinder . . . Ich hatte ihm erwidert, für einen Lehrer wisse ich jetzt keinen Rat . . . " Und D. Kropf berichtet im folgenden Jahre: "Seit dem ersten Dezember ist es möglich geworden, eine Schule für die deutschen Kinder einzurichten. Unser Hauptfeind, der ehemalige Quartiermeister-Sergeant H., hat sich dieser mühevollen Arbeit unterzogen, den oft 12-14 jährigen Kindern das ABC beizubringen. Solange es geht, vermieten die Leute ihre Kinder bei den Bauern. Kommt die Zeit der Binsenpflanzung, so müssen sie erst in die Schule geschickt, und da heisst's dann oft: Was Hänschen nicht lernt, lernt Hans nimmermehr; auch katholische Kinder besuchen diese Schule, nur haben die Eltern gebeten, sie vom Lernen des Lutherischen Katechismus zu dispensieren."

Der von Governor Genersis Jackson, mit Hilfe von Legionären und durch die Eriaubnis, verlassene Hütten der Legion zu gebrauchen, einen regelrechten Schulunterricht für die Kinder der Ansiedler zu schaffen, war ohne nachweisbare Erfolge geblieben. Die Deutschen mussten sich auch hier selbst helfen. Sie mussten sich unter den Emigranten, Legionären einen oder den anderen suchen, der willig und geeignet war, das Lehramt zu übernehmen. Da die grössere Anzahl der Legionäre aus ansehnlichen bürgerlichen Familien und z.T. aus dem Adel stammten, so war diese Ueberlegenheit in Bildung und Rangordnung die natürliche Voraussetzung für die Ausübung des Lehrerberufes. Dazu kam, dass die neun Legionäre, die sich zum Schuldienst entschlossen hatten, sämtlich Preussen oder Hannoveraner waren, deren didaktische Begabung derjenigen der Pommern und Wenden überlegen ist. Bemerkenswert ist, dass die dörflichen Siedlungen mit der Errichtung von Schulen vorangingen; keiner der Legionsschulmeister hat in King William's Town gelehrt. Mit ihnen hat die Legion den deutschen Siedlungen ein Erbe hinterlassen, das nicht hoch genug gewertet werden kann. Wenig Dank und sehr wenig Geld mögen diese ersten Lehrer des Deutschen in Kaffraria empfangen haben. Und da im allgemeinen die Urteile über den Charakter der Legionäre nicht günstig lauten, so sollen diese neun noch einmal in Ehren genannt werden: von Kürsinger,

von Herzberg, Korte, Wiegel, Vogt, Munsel-Rahn, Appel, Spring und der o.g. Quartiermeister-Sergeant H. Verschieden lang war die Zeit, in der sie den entstehenden Gemeinwesen dienten. Ihre Nachfolger wurden Pastoren, sowie Söhne und Töchter von Missionaren und Pastoren. Diese sind die eigentlichen Schöpfer und Erbauer unserer Kirchen aufbauenden Kräfte für die Kirchschulen der Gemeinden geworden, die nun langsam, aber mit immer grösserer Schülerzahl emporblühten und mit den Kirchen zusammen die Mittelpunkte des Gemeinde- und Familienlebens wurden. Unentgeltlich oder für eine verschwindend geringe Vergütung haben sie ihren Dienst getan. Die Eltern selbst konnten das festgesetzte Schulgeld kaum entrichten; zu schwer lagen noch die Schulden auf ihnen, die sie bei der Regierung hatten. Der Zuschuss vom Staate, der zuerst sporadisch und seit den 80 er Jahren regelmässig an die Kirchschulen bezahlt wurde, war recht bescheiden. Um so höher ist der selbstlose Einsatz zu werten, den diese Pioniere des Unterrichtswesens in Kaffraria geleistet haben: ganz auf sich allein gestellt, ohne Lehrpläne von Seiten einer Schulbehörde. Oft der Kritik missvergnügter Eltern ausgesetzt, ohne von einer staatlichen Autorität gestützt zu werden, haben sie den Kindern nicht nur Instruktion in den Elementarfächern erteilt, sondern darüber hinaus ihnen eine einfache, aber gediegene Erziehung und Bildung vermittelt und so die Jugend zu einen Leben in festen Ordnungen vorbereitet und ausgerüstet. Ihnen allen ist es zu verdanken, dass die deutschen Siedlungen aus kümmerlichen Anfängen geschlossene Gemeinden wurden und für Jahrzehnte blieben, mit dem dreigeteilten Kraftzentrum: Familie, Kirche und Schule. In jener Jugendzeit des hiesigen Deutschtums haben sich die Eigenschaften des Charakters bewährt, deren der Deutsche fähig ist, wenn er in Not ist oder wenn er vor eine unmöglich erscheinende Aufgabe gestellt wird, nämlich Zähigkeit im Festhalten an dem vorgesetzten Ziel, erfinderische Vernunft zur Ueberwindung der Widerstände und Einfachheit in der Lebenshaltung bis zum äusserstenen.

In einem jeden Staatswesen entsteht früher oder später die Frage nach dem Recht der Minderheiten und nach deren Einsatz zum Wohl des Ganzen. Als nach Beendigung des Burenkrieges die staatliche Verwaltung sich in allen Provinzen konsolidierte, da konnten die Männer, die an der Spitze der Kapkolonie standen, nicht umhin, die Frage der Behandlung der deutschen Minoritäten in ihrer Mitte zu untersuchen und, wenn möglich, eine für den Staat günstige Lösung zu finden. Die deutschen Siedlungen waren gesunde, kräftige und sehr nützliche Teile der Bevölkerung geworden, sie wiesen einen grösseren Geburtenüberschuss auf als andere Siedlungen von Europäern im Lande. Andererseits hatte in jenen Jahren das Deutsche Reich in Afrika Kolonien gegründet und war drauf und dran, diese zu vermehren. Die Möglichkeit, dass aus den Siedlungen in Kaffraria eine Reihe deutsche Kolonie werden könnte, war nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Der Weg, den die Regierung der Kapkolonie ging, um diese Möglichkeit für immer auszuschalten, erwies sich als wider alles Erwarten erfolgreich für die Belange des deutschen Reiches. Das heisst: das von den staatlichen Schulbehörden gemachte Angebot, die deutschen Kirchschulen als öffentliche Schulen zu übernehmen, wurde von den Landgemeinden ohne Ausnahme angenommen, zwei Stadtgemeinden wahrten die Selbständigkeit ihrer Schule; doch hatten die beiden bett. Schulen bereits den Charakter einer Kirchschule mit dem einer Privatschule vertauscht. Die Umteilung ging nicht schlagartig vor sich, vollzog sich vielmehr innerhalb einer Periode von einigen Jahren, in deren Mittelpunkt das Jahr 1904 stand.

Das Angebot des Staates war grosszügig: sämtliche Schulkosten werden von der Regierung übernommen; die Kinder bekommen Gelegenheit, die Landessprache

regelrecht zu lernen, ohne deren Kenntnis die schulentlassenen Kinder keine Anstellung bei einer Behörde erhalten können. Aengstlichen Gemütern, die bei der Preisgabe der Kirchschule ein beunruhigendes Gefühl hatten, wurde versichert, dass sowohl der Religionsunterricht weiterhin in der Muttersprache erteilt werden solle, als auch deutscher Sprachunterricht ordentliches Lehrfach bleiben solle. Während der Staat sehr bald merkte, was für einen glücklichen Griff er mit seiner Schulpolitik getan hatte und die bei. Behörden selbst sich nicht genug wundern konnten, dass auf Seiten der deutschen Gemeinwesen kein nennenswerter Widerstand sich dagegen erhoben hatte, begann es bei den Gemeinden selbst erst allmählich zu dämmern, das sie mit Aufgabe der Kirchschule das beste Werkzeug zur Erhaltung deutscher Sprache und deutschen Denkens in ihrer Mitte preisgegeben hatten. Nun beginnen die bis heute vorhandenen Tiraden zum Festhalten an der Muttersprache, nun ist die Arbeit für deren Erhaltung aus der konkreten Situation der Kirchschulen auf das Gebiet des idealen Strebens und guten Willens verschoben. Kaum einer der ortsansässigen Deutschen hatte die Folgen gesehen, die aus dem Verlust Kirchschulen sich ergeben mussten: ein Wiedergewinnen dieser Position war unmöglich und ist bis heute unmöglich geblieben. Die Erfahrung hat gelehrt, dass die Kinder am leichtesten die Sprache sich aneignen, die sie mit ihren Kameraden in der Schule sprechen. Auch wenn Eltern streng darauf halten, dass in Hause nur deutsch gesprochen wird, fallen die Kinder von selbst immer wieder auf die Schulsprache zurück.

Mit der Umwandlung der Kirchschulen in öffentliche Schulen war die sog. "Sprachenfrage" aufgekommen. die seit jenem Ereignis alle deutschen Gemeinwesen in Atem hält. Dabei muss in Betracht gezogen werden, dass es sich hier nicht nur um ein linguistisches Problem handelt, sondern um den Einfluss, den eine jede Sprache auf den Charakter dessen ausübt, der sie gebraucht. "Wie sich's wandelt aussen, wandelt sich's auch innen". Die Amalgamierung des deutschen Charakters an den englischen Infolge der Uebernahme der Sprache braucht sich durchaus nicht negativ auszuwirken, es sind unter den deutschen Siedlern der dritten Generation zahlreiche tüchtige Mischcharaktere entstanden. Hier soll nur auf die notwendigerweise eintretenden Folge hingewiesen werden, die sich aus der Schulung der Kinder in der Landessprache ergab: die beginnende Auflösung der deutschen Eigenständigkeit im heranwachsenden Südafrikanertum. Das sprachliche Gesetz und die geschichtliche Erfahrung, dass der Deutsche überall dort, wo er in anglosächsischen Sprachgebiet siedelt, nach einigen Jahrzehnten seine Eigenart in Sprache, Sitte und Charakter verliert. vollziehr sich für die hiesigen Verhältnisse von dem genannten Zeitpunkt ab.

Es hat bald nach der für die Schulen gefallenen Entscheidung und seitdem immer wieder nicht an Männern gefehlt, die versuchten, diese Entwicklung zu verlangsamen und ein Gegengewicht zu schaffen, durch Erhaltung der noch vorhandenen Privatschulen und durch dringende Appelle an Alte und Junge, im Haus und im gesellschaftlichen Umgang die deutsche Sprache beizubehalten. Aber gerade die Häufigkeit dieser Aufrufe und die Tapferkeit der Beweisführung, die sich darin offenbart. spiegelt die Lage wieder. in der sich die deutschen Siedlungen nach Preisgabe der Kirchschulen befanden. Es musste nun betont werden, dass es sich bei diesen Bemühungen nicht um Aufrichtung eines deutschen Partikularismus handele, der in sich selbst fruchtlos. der kulturellen Entwicklung des Landes ein Hindernis wäre. sondern um die Erhaltung der den Deutschen eigenen Kräfte geistiger Art, durch die ihnen eine besondere Aufgabe am Aufbau des Landes zufällt, wie andere Bevölkerungsteile sie nicht ausrichten können. Die Worte, die der Kaiserliche Kon-

zu Malcomess bei der Jubelfeier 1908 an seine Landsleute richtete, sind so bezeichnend für jene Zeit und so wegweisend für die Zukunft, dass sie hier wenigstens zum Teil wiederholt und damit der Vergessenheit entrissen werden sollen: "Ihr habt das Fundament gelegt. Euren Kindern steht alles offen, das Höchste, was in dieser Kolonie zu erreichen ist. Geht ihnen neben euren eigenen guten Eigenschaften von Fleiss und Sparsamkeit eine so gute Erziehung, wie ihr könnt; sorgt für Schule und Kirche, lehrt sie vorwärts streben, dem Neuen und der Verbesserung zugewandt. Viele junge Leute denken nun, dass die deutsche Muttersprache vergessen und nur englisch zu reden, sei etwas Besseres und Feineres. Ich sage euch: Pflegt eure Muttersprache mit aller Macht, mit aller Kraft. Mit ihr verliert ihr eure Eigenart und anstatt ein gutes Original werdet ihr eine schlechte Kopie . . . Der Mensch lebt nicht vom Brot allein. Ohne Erziehung, ohne geistige Interessen, ohne Religion sinkt er alimählich zum Menschentier herab. Für diese Erde gelten die realen Wahrheiten: Wissen ist Macht: Arbeit ist Tat und Erfolg. Aber je mehr sich die Sachen und Interessen im harten Raume stossen, desto mehr haben die Deutschen den Sinn himmelwärts gesandt, um sich geistigen Schwung zu holen, ohne den kein Fortschritt und keine Gesittung ist . . . Für uns deutsche Siedler in Auslande haben die alten deutschen Lieder noch ihre volle Gültigkeit, ohne Frage der politischen Zugehörigkeit . . . Ich hoffe von ganzem Herzen, dass, wenn die meisten von uns schon lange entschlummert sind und einmal hier das 100 jährige Jubiläum der deutschen Einwanderung gefeiert wird, die deutsche Sprache, die deutschen Sitten und Gefühle noch ihren höchsten Ausdruck finden werden im deutschen Lied. Das walte Gott!"

Seitdem die Kinder der deutschen Gemeinden durch das Medium der Landessprache unterrichtet wurden, stellten sich drei Wege heraus, um ihnen die deutsche Sprache lehrmässig zu erhalten; alle drei werden heute noch gegangen. Der schwierigste und die grössten Opfer von den Eltern und Gemeinden verlangende ist der, deutsche Privatschulen zu erhalten oder neu einzurichten. Nur die Städte King William's Town und East London hatten zur Zeit des 50 jährigen Jubiläums und bis zum ersten Weltkriege solche Privatschulen. Von der deutschen Schule in King William's Town schreibt der Berichterstatter über die Feier der dortigen lutherischen Gemeinde: " . . . in unendlich mühsamer Aufbauarbeit hatte Lehrer H. den Grundstein für unsere Kirchschule gelegt . . . Sein kostbares Vermächtnis wurde unter immer schwieriger werdenden inneren und äusseren Verhältnissen mit aller Hingabe und Treue verwaltet und bewahrt, bis die Entwicklung der Gemeinde und damit die Gesamtlage unseres hiesigen Deutschtums eine grundlegende und schmerzliche Neuregelung der Schulfrage notwendig machten. Zwar konnte unter Pastor Möller 1896 noch ein neues und stattliches Schulhaus errichtet werden, aber diese wie alle anderen Versuche, die damals und später von den Pastoren Wagener und Hoppe zum Teil unter rücksichtslosem Einsatz ihrer ganzen Person und oft genug unter Inanspruchnahme bedeutender Reichsmittel unternommen wurden, vermochten trotz äusserer, scheinbarer Erfolge den wirklichen Gang der Dinge weder rückgängig zu machen noch auch nur wesentlich zu verlangsamen. Ueber das Schicksal unserer deutschen Kirchschule in King William's Town war die Entscheidung inzwischen längst gefallen; und dazu hatten die England besonders freundlichen Tendenzen der deutschen Baptisten aber auch die Glieder der sogenannten Unionsgemeinde durch ihre Förderung der German-English-Fusion-School gewiss ihr gutes Teil beigetragen. Mochte dann auch unter dem harten Druck einer durch nichts verdienten englischen Feindschaft am 15. Oktober 1917 der Beschluss der vorher stattgehabten Gemeindeversammlung, die deutsche Kirchschule aufzulösen,

von ihrem letzten Schulvorstand nur notgedrungen gutgeheissen sein, so erfüllte sich hier, aufs Grosse und Ganze gesehen, doch nur ein Schicksal, dem ein jeder isolierter Volkssplitter im volksfremden Raum verfällt, der nicht die notwendige Kraft und mit dem erforderlichen Willen zugleich auch die Möglichkeit zur Selbsterhaltung gegen eine rechtzeitige Blutauffrischung erhält . . .

Während der Schicksalweg der deutschen Schule in King William's Town durch die Einwirkung des ersten Weltkrieges für immer zu Ende gegangen war, wurde er für die deutsche Schule in East London durch dasselbe Ereignis nur unterbrochen. Ab 1 Juli 1904 war die Leitung der Schule Herrn Hugo Gutsche übertragen worden. Nach zehnjähriger ununterbrochener Tätigkeit, in der er Bedeutendes leistete, ging er auf einen Jahresurlaub nach Deutschland, um an der Universität Erlangen seinen Doktorgrad zu erwerben. Als er Ende 1914 zurückkehrte, fand er die Schule nicht mehr vor. Der Geschichtsschreiber der Luth. Gemeinde East London berichtet weiter: "Die Lehrer waren interniert, die Kinder (160), denen durch den plötzlichen Schluss kam mitten im Quartal kurz vor der Versetzung ein schweres Unrecht angetan ist, zerstreut. Alle Versuche, nach Beendigung einer Form damals oder später wieder zu eröffnen, blieben bis heute (1922) erfolglos . . . Die Schliessung der Schule war am 30 Oktober 1914 erfolgt. Mit Tränen in den Augen nahmen die Kinder Abschied. Wie hier mit Liebe und mit Strenge unter tunlicher Berücksichtigung jedes einzelnen Kindes an ihnen gearbeitet wurde, das haben sie wonders nicht wieder erlebt . . . Das ist ja auch nicht möglich; denn unsere Lehrkräfte nahmen nicht nur während der paar Schulstunden Interesse an den Kindern, die wir alle samt ihren Familienverhältnissen genau kannten,—sie unsere Gemeinden, überhaupt für unser Deutschtum tüchtige achtungsgebietende Persönlichkeiten heranzubilden, das war das Lehrziel. dessen Verwirklichung wir alle mit unserer besten Kraft dienten."

Nachdem in den Folgejahren die deutsche Schule wieder eröffnet werden konnte und die Kinder, wenigstens in den unteren Klassen in dem gleichen Geiste erzogen werden konnten, brachte der zweite Weltkrieg eine abermalige Schliessung der Schule mit sich. Aber auch diesmal gelang es, nach jahrelanger Pause, dem Willen der deutschen Gemeinden und den unablässigen Bemühungen des Schulvereins und des Konsuls der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, nicht nur die Schule von neuem ins Leben zu rufen, sondern auch einen Lehrer aus Deutschland anzustellen, der heute mit Fleiss und gutem Geschick seines Amtes waltet, sodass ein gesundes Wachstum dieser einzigen deutschen Privatschule in Kaffraria gewährleistet zu sein scheint und von allen Beteiligten erhofft wird.

Der zweite Weg, den Kindern Unterricht in der deutschen Sprache zu vermitteln, ist der der sog. Sonnabendschulen. Diese wurden hauptsächlich von den lutherischen Gemeinden eingerichtet, wurden viele Jahrzehnte lang in ihnen gehalten gehalten und sind heute noch in einigen am Leben. Der Unterricht wird von Pastoren oder deren Helfern erteilt. Diese Einrichtung stellt die geringsten Anforderungen an die Eltern, hat aber den Nachteil, dass sie ausser halb eines öffentlichen Schulbetriebes liegt und der Kontrolle durch einen Schulinspektor entzogen ist. Auch nehmen an diesem Unterricht beiweiten nicht alle Kinder der Gemeinden teil, denen hier eine gute Gelegenheit geboten wird, die deutsche Sprache zu erlernen oder sich darin zu üben.

Anders liegen die Verhältnisse bei dem dritten Weg, dem Deutschunterricht in den Regierungsschulen. Die bei der Uebernahme der Kirchschulen von der Regierung gemachte Zusage, dass den Kindern der Unterricht in der Muttersprache erhalten werden sollte, wurde erfüllt, solange kompetente Lehrkräfte vorhanden waren. Die

Beschaffung dieser überlieses die Schulbehörde stillschweigend den Gemeinden. Waren diese nicht imstande, solche zu stellen oder meldete sich kein Lehrer, der deutsch erteilen konnte, so fiel der Deutschunterricht aus, und es kostete dann nicht geringe Mühe, denselben wieder einzurichten, auch wenn eine neue Lehrkraft zur Verfügung stand. Den nichtdeutschen Mitgliedern der Schulkommittees war das Deutsche nicht gerade ein Dorn im Auge, aber erschien ihnen ein unnötiger Ballast zu sein; leider hatten auch deutschstämmige Glieder der Kommittees oft eine ähnliche Einstellung. Dennoch haben auch heute noch die Eltern das Recht, für ihre Kinder Deutsch als Lehrfach in der Schule zu bekommen, wenn wenigstens für ef Kinder derselben Schule der entsprechende Antrag gestellt wird. Während die Schulbehörde die Gestaltung des Deutschunterrichtes in den unteren Schulklassen dem Lehrer überlässt unter der Voraussetzung, dass er nach den allgemeinden Regeln für einen Sprachunterricht vollzogen wird, hat sie für die oberen Klassen genaue Lehrpläne ausgearbeitet, deren Einhaltung von dem Schulinspekor und Prinzipal der Schule kontrolliert wird. Dadurch ist eine systematische Belehrung und Uebung der Kinder in der deutschen Sprache garantiert. Das Schulkommittee hat sogar das Recht, in gewissen Klassen Deutsch als Pflichtfach für alle Kinder einzurichten. Im allgemeinen jedoch liegt die Entscheidung über die Teilnahme am Deutschunterricht bei den Eltern. Und diese werden bei ihrem persönlichen Willen, den Kindern die deutsche Sprache zu erhalten, gestützt durch die Haltung des Gemeinwesens, zu dem die Schule gehört. Sind in diesem genügend Glieder vorhanden, die nicht nur mit Stolz und Dankbarkeit das Erbe der Väter bewahren wollen, die sich aus der Beherrschung der deutschen Sprache für die Bildung des Charakters eines jungen Menschen inmitten der gegenwärtigen geistigen Situation dieses Landes ergeben, dann bietet ihnen der in der Schule erteilte Deutschunterricht ein willkommenes Hilfsmittel dazu an.

J. F. SCHWAR

DIE DUITSE NEDERSETTERS VAN BRITS-KAFFRARIA IN DIE LETTERKUNDE

(Deur Helmut Erbe)

Deur die eeue heen het Duitsers hul vaderland verlaat en in alle dele van die wêreld 'n heenkome en in die meeste gevalle 'n tweede tuiste gevind. Gewoonlik was dit nie maklik nie. Ons dink aan die Baltiese Duitsers in die uiterste Noord-Ooste van Europa wat omtrent 700 jaar gelede in 'n see van Slawiese stamme 'n Duitse eiland opgebou het—eers deur Hitler prysgegee en dan deur die rooi vloed van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog heeltemal weggespoel. Ons dink ook aan die Duitsers in die Balkanlande in die Suid-Ooste, veral in 'Siebenbürgen' (vandag in Roemenië), die Siebenbürger Sachsen', wat tenminste net so vroeg hul pioniersweerk begin het en

van wie vandag nog 'n groot persentasie op die grond van hul vadere sit. Hulle moes veg teen die Turke, en van hulle is die beroemde woord afkomstig wat vir setlaars in vreemde lande amper algemeen van toepassing was en tot 'n mate ook vandag nog mag wees:

'Die ersten haben den Tod,
Die zweiten haben die Not,
Die dritten haben das Brot'

—waarby met elkeen 'n hele geslag bedoel is, so dat eers die derde geslag gevestig is en nie meer honger ly nie.

Verskele van die Duitse volksgroepe in die buiteland het hul spore in die Duitse letterkunde gelaat. Ek hoef net Meschendörfer en Zillich te noem vir die Siebenbürgers en Pleyer e.a. vir die Sudeten-Duitsers. Ons dink ook aan baie boeke wat oor die Duitsers in 'Duits-Wes' geskryf is—nie almal van hoë letterkundige gehalte nie, maar tog 'n indrukwekkende reeks met die oog op die klein Duitse bevolking daar.

Dog die mooiste werk in dié opsig, 'n mens kan amper sê die klassieke werk, is tog 'n Jürnjakob Swehn' oor die 'Amerikafahrer', die geskiedenis van 'n dag-oneersuin van Mecklenburg wat na die Verenigde State geëmigreer het en daarsonder om sy hostelike briewe aan sy oud-onderwyser skryf. Ek noem hierdie boek spesiaal omdat die voorvaders van ons Duitse nedersetters in Brits-Kafferland van naburige dele in Noord-Oos-Duitsland, naamlik die Uckermark en Pommere, afkomstig is.

Maar as ons uitkyk na 'n soortgelyke letterkundige getuienis vir hierdie pioniers in Oos-Kaapland, omring deur dreigende naturelle, dan kyk ons tevergeefs. Dit is baie jammer, want daar kon maklik 'n tweede 'Jürnjakob Swehn' geskryf geword het—as daar net die man met soortgelyke skrywerstalent onder die immigrante of hul nakomelinge sou gewees het: Stof was daar genoeg! Die boek sou waarskynlik minder humoristies gewees het as sy Amerikaanse teëvoeter (wat tog ook sy ernstige en aangrypende tonele het!), want die lewe was te swaar en die wedervaringe te ernstig (al op see met die baie stertgevalle, veral van kinders—op die Wilhelmsburg' alleen 64! om daar veel ruimte oor te laat vir humor en grappe. 'n Mens sou kan dink aan 'n boek soos Hamsun se 'Segen der Erde' of Waggerl se 'Brot', waar dit ook gaan oor die harde lewe van 'n boer—net dat dit hier 'n bestaan was onder 'n heeltemal vreemde hemel. In 'n wêreld van wilde, heidense naturelle.

Die Kaap-Kolonie was vir die Duitsers in Duitsland nie eintlik vreemd nie: Van die vroegste dae van die Kompanjie af is hulle daar in groot getalle verteenwoordig en word hulle nie as vreemdelinge beskou nie. (So het Kommissaris Ryckhoff van Goens reeds in 1657 bepaal dat aan die Kaap geen vreemdelinge, net Hollanders en Duitsers in diens geneem moet word.)

Ons het dan ook verse van die beroemde Duitse digter Klopstock wat die Kaapwyn pryst; ons ken die 'Kapliede' wat Schubart vir die soldate van die 'Württembergische Kapregiment' geskryf het; en natuurlik bestaan daar 'n hele aantal gedigte oor 'Duits-Wes': land, dier en mens. Maar Brits-Kafferland en sy mense het geen Duitse sanger gevind nie!

Ons het wel Serjant Steinbart se dagboek wat net in manuskripvorm bestaan, en dan sy "Briefe aus Helgoland, England und Süd-Afrika' van 1859 wat vandag gewoonlik net in die vorm van 'n fotokopie verkrygbaar is: dus twee moeilik toegankelike en seer seker nie vooraanstaande letterkundige geskrifte nie.

Verder word ons nedersetters natuurlik in die twee groot geskiedkundige werke oor Suid-Afrika genoem, dié van Theal en Cory, asook in die meer beknoptes van Gie en Walker. In hierdie verband moet ons dan Dr. Schnell se omvangryke

en deeglike proefskrif noem wat. hier en daar ietwat verander, in boekvorm met die titel: 'For Men Must Work' verskyn het. By was die aangewese persoon om hierdie boek aan te durf wat hom baie jare harde werk gekos het: opgegroei in die setlaars se wêreld. 'n maat van hul nakomelinge, het hy 'n egte liefde vir dié mense verbind met 'n deeglike opleiding in die geskiedenis en met 'n keurige Engelse styl.

Die Britse owerhede wou die hele Duitse Legioen' op 'n vrywillige grondslag na Suid-Afrika stuur, maar net omtrent 'n kwart het ingewillig, waarvan dan gou nog 'n paar honderd met Engelse meisies getrou het. (2,362 mans, 855 vroue en kinders het uitgekom). Die soldate. 'n comfortable and creditably fierocious looking body of men' (Grahamstown Journal) het tot 'n groot gedeelte uit onrustige mense bestaan. Uit die aard van die saak trek 'n legioen—sien ook die Franse vreemde-legioen!—nie altyd juis die beste karakters nie, en dit is betekenisvol dat baie van die lede van die 'Legioen' by die indiensneming die vooroude gestel het om aan die einde van hul diens nie na hul vaderland terug nie. maar wel onder vry vervoer na die Verenigde State gestuur te word!

So is dan ook die vir die eerste tyd gunstige oordeel van Kolonel Maclean gevolg deur heelwat minder gunstiges. Nà 18 maande was daar net vyf persent van die groot bewerk. net elke vyfde het sy huis klaar gehad en baie het gedros. Twee jaar ná die nedersetting was daar van die oorspronklike 605 manne nog net 193(!) in 7 dorpies aanwesig! Dus kan Dr. Schnell, in ooreenstemming met Theal, die volg opsom: 'As a body they were potentially excellent soldiers but almost useless farmers'. Toe Sir G. Grey in 1858 met die Indiese muitery inderhaas alle troepe wat hy kon opspoor na Indië gestuur en ook meer as 1.000, d.w.s. meer as die helfte van die Duitse legioensoldate, vrywillig aangesluit het. was daar amper elke tweede blanke in Natal-Kaffer.land gevegsgereed. Sir E. B. Lytton. Secretary of State: 'With regard to the German Legion. I doubt not that the removal of so large a part of them will be beneficial to the Colony in which that foreign body failed to realise the main objects anticipated from their introduction.'

Die boere-immigrante wat die soldate opgevang het (2,315 van die beplande 4.000) was meestal arm, eenvoudige,onopgevoede dagloners. Hul moeilikhede was vanuit die staanspoor en vir baie jare groot en nagenoeg onoorkomelik (sien uit-voerige berigte in Dr. Schnell se boek, bv. die verslag van die distriksgeneesheer Dr. Paley: 'I have within the last few days visited the German Immigrants in this district. The greater number of them appear to be in a very destitute condition. Their crops are not coming up owing to the long drought, and many of them have barely sufficient to keep body and soul together. Hard working, scantily clothed and half starved. they have been reduced to a worse condition than any I have ever seen. even in pauper practice in London . . . . Diseases brought on by want and ex-posure are rife among them, and unless immediate steps are taken to afford them relief. many will certainly succumb to their hard life.'—Sien ook die briewe in Cory se werk. bl. 56/7!)

Daar was dus rede vir klagte deur die amptenare, omdat hulle heelwat moeilik-heid met die setlaars gehad het. As 'n mens aan dit alles dink, is dit tog rorrend en verbysterend om te sien dat 'n man soos Theal wat in die vroeë sestiger jare in Brits-Kaffer.land geleef en baie van die Duitse setlaars geken het. hulle met die volgende woorde beskryf en hulle dus 'n hoë lof toeswaai: 'No settlers in any new country could have been better adapted to meet its needs than those sent from Northern Germany by Messrs. Godeffroy en Son. Frugal, temperate. orderly. and industrious in the very highest degree. they set themselves to work with the utmost diligence on their little holdings. After a few months they conceived nothing that

they did not produce. Chicory from their land served them for coffee, honey from their hives took the place of sugar, pork and maize and vegetables were the principal articles of their diet. The ground had to be turned over with the spade, for they were too poor to purchase cattle and ploughs. The women carried heavy loads of vegetables to the nearest military post or to King William's Town or East London. and though the returns were small, they were saved. Then came a time when a horse could be bought, and a little homemade waggon, with wheels sawn from the trunk of a tree. was seen on the road. Presently a cow was visible on the German's homestead, and it was always sleek and well fed. So it went on with him, every year finding him with a little more stock than the one before. Surely no people in the world more than these men and women deserved to become prosperous and happy. The next stone houses in which their children live to-day (1964), the highly cultivated fields around them, the herds of cattle that graze on the pastures, bear witness to their thriving condition and to the fact that Kaffraria is a land in which industry and perseverance meet with a suitable reward'—woorde wat Cory dan net so oorneem.

Hierdie twee geskiedkundiges bevestig die oordele wat plaaslike tydgenote soos skrywers in die King William's Town Gazette, Kol. Maclean en Sir G. Grey self uitgespreek het. oor laasgenoemde: 'The QQueen has no better or more grateful subjects than these Germans have become'. en: 'I can affirm from my personal observation that German families make excellent settlers.' (Schnell bl. 203, 172). Die lewe van die Duitse nedersetters in Brits-Kaffer.land '.vas in 1859: 2.659 meste van 'n blanke bevolking van 5.895 uitgemaak het, sodat amper elke tweede blanke van 'n Duitser was!) het dus geskiedenis geword—maar letterkunde ongelukkig nie!

'n Interessante boek is Dr. Gustav Fritsch se werk: 'Drei Jahre in Süd-Afrika. Reiseskizzen nach Notizen des Tagebuchs zusammengestellt'. Die skrywer was 'n Duitse geleerde in die vorm van spesiale artikels in vakkundige tydskrifte uitgegee het, soos: 'Die herrschenden Krankheiten Süd-Afrika's', 'Das Inseklenleben Süd-Afrika's', 'Die klimatischen Verhältnise Süd-Afrika's' mit besonderer Berück-sichtigung der Culturfähigkeit des Landes'.—Ons is met Dr. Fritsch se boek nog nie op kundige gebied nie, maar dit is tog werd om aangehaal te word, sover dit sy opmerkings oor ons Duitsers betref. Daarby wil ek vooraf sê dat hulle oënskynlik met 'n knypie sout gelees moet word. Die skrywer was in die jare 1862-66 in Suid-Afrika deurgebring, dus net 'n paar jaar na die vestiging van ons Duitsers. In hul moeilike tyd. By was blykbaar baie sterk onder die indruk van die Engelse, oorkrities teenoor die werk van die Duitse sendelinge en so ook teenoor die Duitse setlaars en die Afrikaners. Maar nogtans: Hier is sy oordeel:

'Mühsam kletterten die Pferde den vom unaufhörenden Regen schlüpfrigen Weg hinauf und erreichten bald darauf den elenden Ort Frankfort, auf welchen seine Namensschwester gewiss nicht Ursache hat, stolz zu sein; einige ärmliche Hütten, von Luftziegeln gebaut. machen die Gesamtheit der menschlichen Wohnungen aus, die einen sehr traurigen Eindruck hervorrufen gegen die weissen, reinlichen Häuser vieler anderen Orte . . . Es its traurig genug, dass alle diese Orte. hauptsächlich von Deutschen angelegt und mit deutschen Namen belegt, wie Frank-furt, Berlin, Heidelberg etc., sich durch Aermlichkeit auszeichnen, welche Thatsache nicht besonders wunderbar erscheint, wenn man die Deutschen am Cap kennen gelernt hat. . . . im allgemeinen ist unseren Landsleuten am Cap kein günstiges Zeugnis auszustellen. Der Deutsche ist leider, Gott bessere es, von Hause aus so an Druck gewöhnt, dass en im Auslände, wohin er mit dem festen Entschluss geht,

sein Glück zu machen, sich nur allzu willig den Verhältnissen fügt und seinem Ziele nachstrebt, ohne in der Wahl der Mittel besonders bedenklich zu sein; er erreicht in Folge dessen auch sehr häufig sein Ziel, d.h. er macht Geld, aber gewiss nicht ohne Grund zieht er sich den Vorwurf der Charakterlosigkeit zu, und sogar der holländische Afrikaner der genug vor seiner Thüre zu kehren hat, erlaubt sich von 'verdammten Moffes' (Spitzname der Deutschen) zu reden.

In früheren Zeiten war unsere Nation in Süd-Afrika viel angesehener, doch mit dem Erscheinen der Fremdenlegion ist darin eine grosse Veränderung eingetreten. Nicht allein haben die Legionäre als solche durch ihr Benehmen unserem Ansehen geschadet, sondern auch die zahlreichen Deserteure dieser Truppe, welche noch heut zu Tage das Land überschwemmen, Ohne Zweifel ist diesen Herren ein grosser Theil der Schuld beizumessen, dass das Vertrauen verloren gegangen ist, doch hat man sich meiner Meinung nach zu sehr darauf gestützt; spricht der Reisende mit einem dort ansässigen Landsmann über den Verlust des Ansehens, so kann man sicher sein, dass die Antwort erfolgt: Ja die Legion—, ich selbst habe aber in Süd-Afrika genug Leute deutscher Abkunft kennen gelernt, die nie in derselben waren, aber was Charakterlosigkeit betrifft, vollständig in dieselbe Kategorie gehören.

Ganz der Gegensatz dazu ist das Auftreten der Engländer . . . '

'n Skrywer wat wel tot die Duitse letterkunde behoort en wat trouens meestal oor Suid-Afrika en sy mense geskryf het, is Hans Grimm, wat ook jaarlank in die 'and geltref het. Van hom het in 1928 'n boekie verskyn met die titel: 'Die dreizehn Briefe aus Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika'. In 'n 'Anhang' word daar 'Zwei Briefe aus Südafrika', die ander: 'Das Deutschtum in Südafrika'. Ook hierin vind ons harde woorde:

'Was heute nach Südafrika zöge und zieht (hy bedoel hiermee Duitse immigrante) und gehorsam 'südafrikanisch' denkt, das wird in einer längstens in zwei Generationen zu den 60 o/o Deutschen gehören, die den Grundstock des Burenvolkes ausmachen. davon man allenfalls in Theals 'Südafrikanischer Geschichte' nachlesen und durch den Journalisten Preller hören und an den zum Teil holländisch verballhornten deutschen Namen sehen kann, woher er kam. 1. In der Südafrikanischen Union ist es auch da mit der Erhaltung des Deutschtums über den Krieg hinaus nicht besser gegangen, wo die Deutschen in mehr oder minder geschlossenen Siedelungen zusammensassen und nicht etwa aufgenommene Nachkömmlinge, sondern weisse Pioniere waren, das gilt jedenfalls für Kaffraria und gilt für die sogenannte Kapflachde und wird auch gelten für New Germany in Natal, wo auch die Sprache noch gehalten hat; und von der Sprache und kulturellen Dingen ist hier die Rede. In Kaffraria gibt es noch die lutherischen Gemeinden und die Baptistengemeinden mit deutschen Gottesdiensten, aber seitdem im Kriege die paar eigenen deutschen Schulen von der Botha-Smuts-Regierung geschlossen wurden, seitdem von Deutschland her kein Wille mehr zu spüren war, dagegen auch die kulturelle deutsche Zugehörigkeit nur Not und Nachteil zu bringen schien und brachte, seit der Zeit soll auch der liebe Gott immer seltener deutsch reden, und das junge Volk aus deutschen Blute fordert den englischen Gottesdienst, wenn es weiter mittun soll. Auf der Kapflache aber reden die Nachkommen der deutschen Kleinbauern burisch.'

As 'n mens daaraan dink dat die Duitsers in die Baltiese lande en in Siebenbürgen deur sewe-, agtbonderd jaar hul Duitse taal en wese bewaar het, dan is dit in die oog lopend en smartlik dat die nedersetters in Brits-Kafferland dit in die tweede, derde geslag al verloor het. 'n Mens kan wel redes daarvoor vind: hul betrekilke ongeletterdheid, die gebrek aan kontak met die moederland en aan

nasionale eenheid in die Duitsland van daardie dae, die feit dat hul moedertaal nie Hoog- maar Plaiduits was, dat hulle Engels en Xhosa en later ook nog Afrikaans moes leer. Dit is gegronde redes—hulle het dus met die bewaring van hul taal baie swaarder gekry as Duitsers in ander dele van die wêreld—en tog bly die smart! Waar daar in Siebenbürgen vandag nog in die werk Duits gepreek word, het in die gemeentes van King William's Town en omgewing selfs in die goddiens Engels gedeeltelik sy intrek geneem.

Die Duitsers is te geneig om hulle aan ' n vreemde omgewing aan te pas—daar is Dr. Fritsch heeltemal reg!—: 'n Mens hoef net aan die Verenigde State te dink waar hulle by die miljoene in kort tydperke Amerikaners geword het wat hul taal nie meer ken en nie meer wou ken nie. Daar is die barde woord 'Kultur-Dünger' gebruik—Duitsers as kulturmris in vreemde bodem. En sekerlik bestaan hierdie harde naam nie vêr.

En tóg, wat ons Duitsers betref wat nou die bonderdjaardag van hul aankoms vier: Ons het rede om trots te wees op wat die immigrante en hul kinders en kleinkinders tot stand gebring het: Al het hulle hul Duitse taal tot 'n groot mate verloor, het hulle hul Duitse naam tog hooggehou. Hulle het hard gewerk, en die vrugte het nie uitgebly nie. Die meeste maak 'n goeie bestaan, baie is welaf en sommige selfs ryk. Die feit dat hulle op so 'n groot skaal die aanlanding van hul voorouers herdenk, bewys dat hulle trots is op hulle, dat hulle nie heeltemal opgegaan het in die vreemde omgewing nie—al het hulle nou nie eintlik 'n onderwerp vir die letterkunde gevond nie!

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